DYNAMICS OF CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER AKBAR AND MUGHAL'S MILITARY SYSTEM



THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

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Acknowledgement

Ever since my school days i felt interested in socio-political and administration vision of Akbar, the Great. Akbar had many charming personal qualities which endeared him to his officers and the people at large. That is why I decided to work on "Dynamics of Central Administration under Akbar and Mughal's Military system".

I am merely an humble explorer standing on its banks gathering pearls from whatever source I can lay my hands upon.

My natural guardia and protactor, Mrs. Ved Kaur has been pillor of strength throughout my life and to my mother I shall remain indebted for setting the foundation on which I am leading my Journey of life.

Yes, our family is an is an integeral part of our lives. I express my sincere appreciation to all family members for their support.

Last , but not the least, I deem it an honor to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Ashok Kumar Singh for his guidance and encouragement in the fruitarian of this research work. I must express my gratefulness to those authors whom subject matter helped me in completing the work.

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Introduction

Civil and military administrations play an important role in deciding the fate of its country and people. Dynamics of secular and welfare system is closely linked with good governance. It should be appreciated and remembered that credit of establishing ‘secular state’ in India goes to Akbar alone.

Dynamics of central administration of Akbar and Mughal military system has multiferous importance in annals of history. It is the organization and direction of human and material resources to achieve desired ends. Administration as E.N. Gladden says is ‘a long and slightly pompous word’, but it has a humble meaning. The word administrator derived from the Latin word ad+ministration, means to care for or to look after people to manage affairs”[1]

In wider perspective administration is a process permitting all collective effort, be it public or private, civil or military, large scale or otherwise and is thus of universal nature. It is a comparative effort directed toward the realization of a concisely laid down objective. Administration being characteristic of all enterprises in pursuit of conscious purposes is not a pecularity or speciality of a modern age alone. Indeed its glimmerings could well be perceived quite early in growth of civilization. Building the pyramid was an astonishing administrative feat. So was the running of the Roman Empire.[2]

History abounds in examles of tyrants who regarded themselves as superior to all and felt that their life and character unique. It is a feeling of self glorification. He following passage from annals of assurbanipal (885-860 BC) vividly illustrates this attitudes of self glorification.

“ I am the king. I am the lord. I am the sublime. I am the great, the strong, I am the famous, I am the prince, the noble he war lord. I am a lion. I am God’s own

appointment. I am the Unconquerable weapons, which lays the land of enemies in ruin. I captured them alive and stuck them on poles; I gloured the mountain like wool with their blood. From many of them I tore off the skin and covered the walls with it. I built a piller of still living bodies and another pillar of heads. But in the middle I hung their heads on vives , I prepared a colloral picture of my royal personage and inscribed my might and sublimity on it. . . . . my face radiates on the ruins. I the service of my fury I find my satisfaction.[3]

Invested with the divine trust, the emperor was not a man as other men. But in the last resort the emperor was not God, he was only his instrument.[4]

During Akbar the Great regime the mughal empire was one of the largest centralization status known in pre modern world history. The political and administrative development during the muslim rule in sub continent of India and Pakistan was undistributed and the continuous.

The mughal empire emerges from the Indian historical experience. Undoubtedly it was the end product of millennium of muslim conquest colonization and state building in the Indian Sub continent.
The mughal emperor's unified practically the whole of north India and much of the deccan and built up an empire such as had not been seen the days of Gupta.[5]

The mughal rule is distinguished by the establishment of a stable government and other social and cultural activities. He art of life flourished. During the mughal age (1526-1803) the Hindus formed the vast majority of country's population and included the jain's the Buddhist and the Sikhs.[6]

It was an age of profound change seemingly not very apparent on the surface but it definitely shaped and moulded the socio-economic life of the country. The period was specially famous for its wealth and splendour as no other Islamic state in the world could boast of. Akbar was a man of untiring industry and personally supervised every branch of administration.[7]

Mughal period defer from Sultanate period in one important respect. During these one hundred and fifty one years it was one dynasty that ruled in the realm. It is true that Death of monarch was often a signal for civil war but the contestants were scions of the same family and they fought for themselves. They were not puppets in the hands of ambitious nobles.

The mughal government was called a Kaghzi Raj or paper government, as a large number of books had to be maintained . The emperor was the fountain head of all honours, sources of all administrative power and the dispenser of supreme justice, implying that the mughal emperors did not regard the Khalifa as their normal overlord. But they were not despots as they kept the interest of the people uppermost in their mind.

The mughal nobility was a heterogenous body, composed of diverse elements like Turks, Tartars, Persians and Indians and therefore it could not organize itself as a powerful baronial class. It was further not hereditary but purely official in character.

Several factors contributed to the success of mughals. The good governance that the mughal gave their empire was not small a factor in minimizing the affection of the people. As the entire administration was centered in the monarch who looked into every detail himself, in person came to embody the hopes of peaceful existence; justice and prosperity.

The mughal empire was de jure as well as de facto an independent state. Though the mughal kings enjoyed absolute powers, they were not pure despots. They always kept the interest of the people in mind and did not resort to unnecessary repression.

The first two mughal kings Babar and Humayun were so much emgrossed in their political struggle that they could hardly get any time to effect improvement in the administration.

It was the genius of Akbar the great who laid the foundation of the mughal system of administration which continued under his successors without much modification. According to Edvard and Garret " the reasons which helped Akbar to established administrative machinery which differed widely from Sultan of Delhi were two fold. First the example of Shershah who in his own territory in Bihar and during his stormy reign of five years at Delhi Display a remarkable aptitude for civil government and secondly by the fact that at the commencement of the sixteenth century the muslim population of India had sufficiently increased by the triple method of immigration, conversion and birth, to admit of the employment in the civil offices of the state of far larger numbers than had been possible during the earlier days of the sultanate".

At this crucial juncture it is pertinent to mention here that the central administrative system of Akbar had met with severe criticism at the hand of certain scholars. It is alleged that the mughals Administration was essential foreign in character and gave preference to the Persians. However, it is difficult to accept this allegation.

Keeping in mind the concept of secular and welfare state Akbar abolished jazia and pilgrimage tax and forcibly conversion of prisoners of war. He built an Ibadatkhana

at Fatehpur Sikri to discuss religious matters. He invited many distinguished person at the Ibadatkhana. To curb the dominance of Ulema Akbar introduced a new Khutba, written by Faizi and proclaimed mahzarnama in 1579 which make him the final interpretor of Islamic law (Mugtahid Imam-i-Adil) in case of any controversies. It made him Amir-ul-momin (leader of the faithful) and Amir-i-Adil (a just ruler). His religious liberalism is reflected again in Din-i-Ilahi, Which propounded Sufi divine monotheism.

The centre of the whole structure of government was soverign. Before the Soverign all important matter's relating to appointments, increments,jagirs, Mansabar, government grants , order of payments, petition of princes, governor Bakhshis, diwans, Faujdars and private petitions sent through nobles were submitted even when the sovereign was on the move, the daily routine was observed.

Akbar was wise to leave wide and full power's to his wazirs.[8] Wazir was the most important functionary. The unrestricted use of powers of wazir by Bairam Khan was a warning against the appointment of an all powerful wazir. The office of the vakil was retained but none of the vakila after Bairam Khan exercised the powers and influence of a Prime Minister. The administrative agency in the provinces under the mughal was an exact miniature of that of the central government. The provincial administration was based on the principles of "Uniformity" and "check and balance". Right and duties of provincial officials were distributed in a way which prevented the misuse of offices and promoted independence among various officials. The governor of the province, the subedar was the most important person in the province. He looked after the administration with the help of other officers. He diwan kept the records of the revenue from the land. The bakshi sent regular news reports to the capital and attended to the needs of the army in suba.

The relevance of mughal administration is still in existence even today. The name of kotwal is still familiar in the town and villages of northern India. This was the kotwal who was the officer in charge of town administration. Police stations in some northern states are still called Kotwali. The kotwal was responsible for investigating criminals. He also inspected the weight and measures used by the merchants so that no one could be cheated by them. Another job the kotwal did was to keep a register of all the persons living in the neighbourhood including visiting foreigners.

The mughal judicial system was based on the principle of the Arab jurisprudence. Defending upon their nature, the cases were heard at different levels. The qazi-ul-quzat, the chief judicial officer, was assisted by mufti, who would be a scholar of the Arab jurisprudence. In the mughal period, judicial cases were classified into the following four categories:

(i) religious cases
(ii) diwani cases
(iii) fauzdari
(iv) goods related cases

Religious cases were dealt with by the office of the qazi and were related with the interpretation of Shariat. Diwani cases were also heard by the qazi. Criminal cases were dealt with by the subedar, fauzdar and shiqdar. These officials had their own courts. Cases related to goods were heard in the courts of amil. It is clear that the the qazi heard only diwani and religious cases.

The majority of people in medieval India lived in villages and dependend directly or indirectly on agriculture. The fame of a ruler and the popularity of his

government depended on the success of his land revenue policy. The mughal land revenue policy owed its success to Akbar who made several experiments in this field, before introducing the Dahsala system with the help of Raja Todar Mal. Sher Shah Suri, however, was the forerunner of Akbar in establishing a sound revenue administration.

Undoubtedly Babar and Humayun showed preference to the person officials but under Akbar posts were distributed among the muslims as well as the Hindus on the basis of merit. More significant was Akbar's recruitment of Hindu Rajput Leader's into the mughal nonility. Akbar's long reign (1556-1605) had been punctuated by a succession of brilliant and rewarding conquests.[9]

It has been often said that the scale of natural phenomenon in India , and her total dependence on the monsoon, have helped to form the character of her people.[10] Certainly climatic condition of India has been the moral booster impact since the dawn of civilization.[11]

Akbar was born and bought up in India and never behaved like a foreigner. He openly preached the policy of Sulah-kul and accorded similar treatment to all his subjects. Similarly Shahjahan treated his subject like his children. It is true that under Aurangzeb the non muslims were subjected to discriminatory treatment but most of the muslims who were elevated to high positions were Indian Converts to Islam. Hence keeping every controversy apart, it is admitted fact that mughal administration under Akbar the great on the whole cannot be considered foreign in character.

The military preparedness during the mughal empire was of tremendous importance.[12] Although the emperor maintained his own household troops. [13]The mughal state was an insatiable Leviathan. [14] It was the improved methods of siege operation that Akbar was able to capture the most notable forts of northern and southern India which were till then considered impreqnable.[15]

Akbar embarked afresh on his policy of expension. In 1586, he annexed Kashmir; southern Sindh was taken in 1590; Man Singh conquered Orissa in 1592; Baluchistan with Makran coast was taken in 1594; and Kandahar was given up by its Persian governor a year later.[16]

With regard to the states in the Deccan, Akbar had been trying since 1590 by diplomatic means to persuade them to accept his suzerainty and pay tribute to him. Excepting the state of Khandesh which agreed to his proposal, his envoys were politely rebuffed everywhere. Military operations started in 1593 and the city of Ahmadnagar was raided but valiantly defended by Chand Bibi, who was compelled to accept a treaty in 1596 by which the provenance of Berar was acceded to the Mughals. War broke out again, soon to be terminated in 1600 after the death of Chand Bibi and the fall of Ahmadnagar city. In the meantime the ruler of Khandesh had second thoughts over his acceptance of the suzerainty of Akbar and resolved not to follow it. Preparing for a fight with Akbar he relied on the strength of his fortress of Asisgarh which was defended by gunners who had deserted the Portuguese. Besided, it was one of the strongest forts of the world at that time and was so amply provided with guns,provisions, water and munitions that its defenders might reasonably hope that they would hold out for years.[17]

Now there was a development which made it possible for Akbar to take charge of the campaign personally which was till then conducted by his sons. Although Akbar had thought of extending empire to Central Asia, he did not do so because of the formidable Uzbeg power. In fact, apprehensive of an attack by the able ruler of transoxiana, Abdullah Khan uzbeb, he never went away from Punjab for long. He death of Abdullah Uzbeg early in 1598 freed him from that worry, and he sets out for the Deccan from Lahore late in 1598. About the middle of 1599 Akbar crossed the Narmada and occupied Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh.

The fort of Asisgarh ,however,remained out of his reach,his artillery could do nothing to its walls. Resorting to treachery,he invited the king, Bahadur Shah, to his camp for talks swearing by his own head the safe return of the king. He detained Bahadur Shah shamelessely violating the oath expecting that the leaderless garrison would surrender. But Bahadur Shah, Akbar's son, had advised his African commander to ignore all orders for surrender. Meanwhile,prince Salim,Akbar's son,had rebelled in Delhi and it was necessary for Akbar to go there. Yet he siege dragged on. Unable to wait any longer,Akbar restored to bribery and paid the Khandesh officials large amounts. The gates of Asisgarh were opened on January 17, 1601 which ended the last conquest of Akbar.[18]

Apart from extensive conquests already Akbar greatness rists on the organization of the administration on a sound and stable basis, the brilliance of his court, the enunciation of a sound policy toward the Hindu and above all his remarkable personality.[19] The mughal empire, whether bearing the character of 'a patrimonial

bureaucracy as per the administrative hierarchy, or of ‘a centralized autocracy’ as per the ranking system, was essentially a coercive military machine.[20]
We can not forget the world class strategist walter lippman’s statement that a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war and if challenged to maintain them by war.[21] Mughal military organization played a key role in defence mechanism of the state. Cavalry and artillery had increasing importance in the army of mughals.[22] Manasandari system introduced by Akbar in 1573-74 was the steel frame of emperior;s military policy.[23] All official civil and military (the role were interchangeable) were called Mansabdar’s as in Persia the word meaning office holder.[24]

The mughals had a progressive outlook. They were always willing to listen to new ideas and to try them out. They were on the look out for improving their arms. In the beginning they welcomed ottoman engineers to improve their artillery. When they discovered that the Europeans had begun to manufacture better fire arms they began to employ them. There was a gradual improvement of mughal artillery as a result of this policy. Akbar sent a special convoy to the Portuguese to find out what new articles were available in their possessions.

The mughal armies moved slowly; some times when they were obliged to make forced marches, they moved a little more quickly. Akbar once covered four hundred and fifty miles at the head of three thousand horsemen in eleven days and at the end of the journey fought two decisive battles in one day. This was exceptional.[25]

Stanley Lane poole describes Akbar the noblest king that ever ruled India, a true founder and organizer of the empire.[26] Prof. Edwards and Garrett says Akbar has

proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an Intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler and judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history……During a resign of newly fifty years he built up a powerful empire which could vie with strongest and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a country. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the mughals from mere military invaders into a permanent Indian Dynasty.[27]

The object of the present work is to give multidimensional highlights on central administration of Akbar and mughal military system. The process and techniques that I have applied is purely historical and critical. The writer on history which have given much weight to the writing of European travelers have often been led into errors. In spite of such difficulties survey of literatures related to mughal period with careful objectivity have been adopted in the light of available sources, which would in my thinking and confidence add a new dimension in the study of civil military dynamics of administration during the period of Akbar the great.

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Geography of Land and its Influence

The most civilized man has become, the more he is able to utilize and develop the national resources of the region in which he lives, and the less he is limited by the disadvantages of his environment. He can overcome many natural disadvantages such as the lack of water by irrigation schemes, marshy land of drainage and the prevalence of disease by medical knowledge etc. He no longer relies entirely on local supplies of food and raw materials, but through the development of trade and commerce has access to the vast resources of the whole world.[1]

Geographical facts influence the course of history.[2] History is thus unintelligible without reference to geography. No one will disagree however firmly he may believe in free will that destinies of man are to a large extent determinal by environment.[3]

It was in search of this India that the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French and the English, and their famous captains - Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Magellan, and cook-braved the dangers of the unknown seas and faced the hardships of unfamiliar climes. For this India the poets of England dreamed and sung. Milton had in his mind when he spoke of

"... the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her Kings barbaric pearl and gold".
Or when Shakespeare praised his Rosalind,
"From the east to western Ind
No jewel is like Rosalind".
Or when Christopher Marlowe said,

"I'll have them fly of India for gold

Ransack the ocean for orient pearl".

To arrive a full understanding of the history of a country the character of its people, the growth of its institution and civilization it is necessary to prepare the background of the geography.

In no country in the world has geographical position, relatively to surrounding continents and seas, shaped the history and the destinies of the people more surely than in India.[4] General wavel has rightly remarked keeping the Geostrategy in mind that geography of a land determines the course of battle.[5]

India both on this side and beyond the Ganges was known even to the ancients, especially after the time of Alexander the great as is shown by the historians and his exploits composed by illustrious writer's Pliny, who studied many of those histories which are now no longer extent, writes that the land inhabited by the Indian race begins from the mountains of Emodus and is bounded not only by that sea which lies towards the west but also by the southern ocean, which he calls the Indian ocean. He also says that the part of India which directly faces the east measures in all including indentations 1875 miles, while in the south, according to Eratosthenes the coast measures 2475 miles as far as the indus, which is the western boundary of India. However he adds that a number of authors reckon the total length of India at forty days and night voyage for a sailing vessel, while the breadth from north to south is 2750 miles.[6]

So far as land is concerned, its relief presents two strikingly complementary regions. One is the vast Himalayan range of the north which towers like a gigantic rampart over the Indo-Genetic plains, and the second

is the peninsular tableland, whose plateaus decline precipitously towards the west and subside gently into the Bay of Bengal in the east.

The Himalayas are young in age. They rose in recent geological times from the great geosynclinals Sea of Tethys and are therefore built of sedimentary strata. They are the most magnificent of the mountains of the world. They are the legislators of India's climate, the abode of eternal snow. They direct the rain-laden clouds of the monsoons over the plains and obstruct the passage of icy winds sweeping south from Siberia. Their glaciers and springs nourish the rivers which irrigate the northern plains and enrich their soil with alluvial deposits. The land through which the Sindh, the Ganga, the Brahmaputra and their tributaries flow is indeed the gift of the Himalayas.[7]

But the Himalayan range is but a child of yesterday compared to the Aravallis which separate Rajasthan from Malwa, and run from Gujarat in the north-eastern direction to Delhi. The Aravallis are as ancient as the earliest rocks of the earth's Crust - Achaean. Time has smoothed down their crests. They pass through a dry and rugged land where rainfall is scarce, human habitations scattered, and seminomadism prevalent.

Below the great northern plains, the land rises into uplands which extend with ups and downs to Kanya Kumari. They consist of the Vindhyan ranges and the Deccan plateaus. Both the scarps of the Vindhyas and the lavas of the Deccan go back to the Cambrian times and come down to the Cretaceous age. Naturally they are formed of sandstone, shales and gneisses. In their valleys are sheltered grass lands, acacia scrubs and wild forests.

The Western Ghats extend perpendicularly from the Vindhyas to the far south. They form the western ridge of Deccan block. They lie a thwart the path of the monsoons which move from the sea inland, and precipitate

the clouds in bursts of torrential rains. The crags on their spurs are natural strongholds which offer perches for fortresses and castles.

The Eastern littoral is a fairly broad alluvial plain flanked by low hills with wide gaps through which rivers lazily flow down to the sea making deltas at their embouchures.[8]

The broad northern trough between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas was at one time an arm of the sea which has been filled up by silt brought down from the mountains. It lies in thickness of thousands of feet over the ancient sea bottom. Its layers are devoid of minerals, but it is abundantly suited for agriculture. Thirty thousand square miles in area, it "is one of the world's greatest expanses of rich, tillable soil, and thus one of the world's greatest agricultural regions." On the other hand, peninsular India is a storehouse of diamonds, gold, iron, coal, manganese, aluminum and other metals; and its extremities in the east and the west - Assam and Kathiawad - harbour reservoirs of oil of unknown magnitude.[9]

India has four major basins with their river systems - the Panjab where the river Indus and its feeders flow from east to west; the Genetic trough which inclines from west to east and carries the waters of the Ganga and its affluents; the Central Uplands which are drained westward into the Arabian Sea by the Narbada and the Tapti systems; and the Deccan whose rivers rise in the Western Ghats and debouch eastwards into the Bay of Bengal:

गंगेच यमुने चैव गोदावरी सरस्वती।

नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरी तीर्थेऽस्मिनसन्निधिः कुरू।।

Each one of these riverine tracts has been the cradle of people and principalities which have played their parts on the stage of Indian history.

Central Administration of Akbar

The mughal rule is distinguished by the establishment of a stable government and other social and cultural activities. The arts of life flourished. It was an age of profound change, seemingly not very apparent on the surface but it definitely shaped and molded the socio economic life of our country. Since Akbar was anxious to evolve a national culture and a national outlook, he encouraged and initiated policies in religious, political and cultural spheres which were calculated to broaden the outlook of his contemporaries and infuse in them the consciousness of belonging to one culture.

Akbar prided himself unjustly upon being the author of most of his measures by saying that he was grateful to God that he had found no capable minister, otherwise people would have given the minister the credit for the emperor's measures, yet there is ample evidence to show that Akbar benefited greatly from the council of able administrators.[1] He conceded that a monarch should not himself undertake duties that may be performed by his subjects, he did not do to this for reasons of administrative efficiency, but because "the errors of others it is his part to remedy, but his own lapses, who may correct ?[2]

The Mughal's were able to create the such position and functions of the emperor in the popular mind, an image which stands out clearly not only in historical and either literature of the period but also in folklore which exists even today in form of popular stories narrated in the villages of the areas that constituted the Mughal's vast dominions when his power had not declined .The emperor was

looked upon as the father of people whose function it was to protect the weak and average the persecuted.

It is true that sometimes, there were rebellion that had to be punished and there were war's of conquest or reprisal, but these did not succeed in obliterating the image among the large mass of the people.[3]

Abul Fazl introduced a new dimension to the Mughal theory of kingship. To him, the institution of kingship, rather then the individual who held the office, was endowed with farri-izadi(divine effulgence). His padshah or shahanshah (king of king) was a unique personality and was the viceregent of God on earth. Another important scholar on this subject was Shaikh Abdul Haqq Dihlawi who wrote the Nuriyya-i-Shltaniyya, a treatise covering all aspects of this subject, during Jahangir's region.

Complete independence of the sovereign or the king, both internally and externally. Internally, every institution and person was sub-ordinate to the king. Externally the Mughal Sovereign did not recognize any superior authority like the caliph, which was done by the Delhi Sultans.

The desire of the Mughals to bring under their imperial rule not only the whole of India, but also territories outside India such as Afghanistan, Central Asia etc. The Mughal administration wass reared on dynastic loyalties. Though in theory administrative posts were open to all, in practice mostly those persons having royal origins were taken into administration and the government servants owed loyalty to the dynasties rather than to the institution.[4]

The centre of the whole structure or government was sovereign. Before the sovereign all important matter's relating to appointments, increments, jagirs, government grants, mansabs, order of payment, petition of princes governor's, bakhshir, diwans, faujdars and private petitions sent through nobles were submitted. Even when the sovereign was on the move, daily routine was observed.

He unrestricted use of powers of a Wazir by Bairam Khan was a warning against the appointment of all powerful Wazir. The office of the Vakil was retained but none of the Vakils after Bairam Khan Exercised the power's and influence of a Prime Minister.

Mughal empire was divided into Subah or Province which was further subdivided into Sarkar's, Parganas and villages. However it also had territorial units as 'Khalisa' (Royal Land) Jagirs (Autonomous Rajas) and inams (gifted lands mainly waste land). There were twelve territorial units, during Akbar's reign which increased to twenty one during Aurangzeb's reign. The administrative agency in the provinces under the Mughal was an exact miniature of that of the central government. The provincial administration was based on the principles of uniformity. The Mughals efficiently carried on the judicial administration with the help of Qazi-ul-Quzat. He also used to supervise the law of courts within the empire. At the provincial level Sardar, Kotwal< Muqaddam and Chowkidar heard the cases. The consumer cases were heard by Amil.
Mansabdari system introduced by Akbar in 1573-74 was the steel frame of the emperor's military policy. The mansabdar was an official who out of his pay, was expected to furnish a certain number of cavalary to the imperial army.[5]

Salient features of the mansabdari system were as follows :

- Mansabdar's were graded into 39 classes, ranging from commander's of 10 to 10,000.
- Twin ranks- Zat and Sawar-were allotted. The former indicated a noble's personal status, while the latter, the number of troops he had to maintain.
- Mansabdari had three scale gradations : (1) Mansabdar (500 Zat and below), (ii) Amir (between 500-2500 Zat), (iii) Amir-i-Umda (2500 Zat and above).
- Mansab was not an hereditary system, mansabdars were paid through revenue assignments (jagirs) land was classified into four types : Polaj (continuously cultivated), Parauti (left fallow for a year or two or recover productivity), chachar (left fallow for three or four years) and Banjar (uncultivated for five years or more).

During the early years of Akbar reign several revenue experiments were made. Here were three principal revenue systems in the mughal empire which may be dercribed as follows :

- Ghallabaksh or Crop division : Under this system , a share of each crop was taken by the state. His system prevailed in lower sind, a part of Kabul and Kashmir.
- Zabti System : Todarmal, who was appointed Akbar's financial minister (diwan-i-ashraf) in 1552 set up a regulation or standard system of revenue administration known as Zabti System. This system was Applied from Bihar to Multan and in large parts of Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat. Under this system, land were accurately surveyed Polaj and Parauts lands were subdivided into 3 grades (Good, mild and bad). The average produce was

calculated from the mean of the three grades. He demand of the state was one third of average produce. The settlement under the Zabti system was made directly with the Cultivator.

Under the Zabti system, the cash rates were fixed on the average of ten years actual i.e. from the past experience of ten years . That is why this system is also called Dahsala system. Advantages of Dahasala system is as follows :

- It enabled the administrators to guess fairly the revenue of the state.
- Cultivators knew what they were required to pay.
- The government also promised to reduce the revenue in cash of unforeseen circumstances of natural calamities.
- The state advanced loans to the cultivators.
- Remissions of revenue was granted in bad seasons.

(III) Nasaq or Estimate : Past assessment determined the present. Todarmal collected the accounts of the Qanungos and in some places ascertained their accuracy by local enquiries. From these accounts he prepared the rent roll of the Surabh. He Nasacal system did not depend the survey or seasonal records of produce. It resembled the Zamindari settlement.

The form of mughal government was despotic monarchy. The king was the head of the executive, legislature, judiciary and the army. His main duty was benevolence towards the subjects. The royal Uzuk (small signet ring) was affixed to formans granting senior appointments, titles, jagirs etc. The only limit on the autocracy of the king were the nobility and the ulema.

Though in theory the nobles owned their position to the king, in practice king could not easily ignore the strength of the nobility.

Although I have to focus mainly on control administration but keeping the interlink of center, province & local administration a glimpse is essential (from top to bottom) to display which is shown below-

A-CENTRE

- WAZIR (Akbar abolished the post of all powerful wazirs)
- DIWAN (Responsible for all income and expenditure and had control over Khalisa and jagir land)
- MIR BAKSHI Headed military department, nobility, information and intelligence agencies.
- MIR SAMAN In charge of imperial household and karkhanas.
- MIR MUNSHI In charge of Royal correspondence.
- SADR-US-SADR In charge of charitable and religious endowment.
- QAZI-UL-QUJAT Headed the judiciary department.
- MUHTASIBE censor of public morals.
- MUSHRIF-I-MUMALIK Accountant general.
- MUSHTAUF-I-MUMALIK Auditor general.
- DARGO-I-DAK-CHAUKI Officer in charge of imperial post equivalent to today's post master.

- MIR BARR — Superintendent of forests.
- MIR-I-ARZ — Officer in charge of petition.
- WAQIA-NAVIS — News Reporters/writers.
- DIWAN-I-KHALISA — In charge of crown lands.
- MIR-I-MAL — In charge of privacy purse.
- MIR-I-TOZAK — In charge of ceremonies.
- MIR-BAHRI — In charge of ships on boats.
- MIR-MAUZIL — In charge of Quarters.
- MIR ATISH

  OR

  Daroga-i- Topkhana — Head of Artillery
- Khufia Navis — Secret letter writers.

B-PROVINCE

- SIPAHSALAR — The head executive (known as sipahsalar under Akbar and later known as Nizam or Subedar)
- DIWAN — In charge of revenue department
- BAKSHI — In charge of military department
- SADR — In charge of judicial department

C-DISTRICT/ SARKAR

- FAUZDAR — Administrative head
- AMAL / AMALGUZAR — Revenue collection

- KOTWAL Maintenance of law & order trial of criminal cases and price regulations.

D-PRAGNA

- SHIQDAR Administrative head combined in himself the duties fauzadar & kotwal.
- AMIN, QANUNGO Revenue officials.

E-VILLAGE

- MUQADDAM Headman
- PATWARI Accountant
- CHOWKIDAR Watchman.

It is an important to mention here that Akbar devoted considerable attention to agrarian administration. He was forced to do this because the conditions threatened to become chaotic unless reforms were introduced. This was not the result of any inherent basic shortcomings of the system. Akbar inherited a number of officers who had grandiose titles and pretensions which were out of all proportion to the financial resources of the empire. They claimed with large salaries and were not willing to compromise with their dignity by accepting smaller but more realistic emoluments.[6]

Besides a great conqueror Akbar was an extraordinary administration having excellent system of administration. Although this system of administration

was based on the principles and institution introduced by Shershah Suri, but Akbar effected many improvement in the system to make it more effective. The Mughal administration under Akbar was highly centralized. All the power of the state was vested in the God on the earth. There was no one who can challenge his authority. He was not only the head of the state but also the commander in chief of the military forces as well as the head of the judicial authority in the country.[7] Although Akbar enjoyed absolute power's he did not behave in a despotic manner. He always kept the interest of his people in his mind and carried administration in a manner which won him the administration and that respect of his people.[8] Everyone tried to win over the good will[9] of the king as success in Akbar has shared the life depended upon his good will of fate of all great reformers in having his personal character assailed, his motives impugned his actions distorted upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination.[10]

Though the king was assisted by a number of Ministers in the administration of the country, but he was not bound by their advice. The final decision rested with the king. In short the king enjoyed absolute authority and there was hardly any check on his authority.[11]

Man's selfish and preserve nature is the chief obstacle in the preservation of order in society and peace in the country. Low qualities and base morals, like cruelty, oppression, injustice and insurrection, have become a part of man's nature. Hence God has ordained that, from amongst the people, there should be one hakim-i-adil, to direct the actions of the sons of Adam and the affairs of the people of the world on the right path, and keep them safe and secure. If a just king is removed, 'swords are drawn and blood flows. The one who

possesses a strong hand does whatever he likes. It is like a fire which spreads in a reed-bed and burns all that is dry. The green plants are also reduced to ashes by the nearness of dry ones.'

Abul Fazl also starts with the same assumption. 'If royalty did not exist the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction, the world…..would lose its prosperity and the whole earth become a barren waste.'

Anarchy, confusion, man's selfish nature and the tyranny of the strong, being the justification for royal power, 'protection' becomes the chief duty of the monarch. 'One should first have the king, then wife and afterwords wealth for if there were no king, how could one enjoy wife and wealth. A king who duly protects his subjects receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit ; if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also will fall on him.' ' The king receives revenue as his fee for the service of protection.' He who does not properly protect his subjects is a thief among kings.'

The duty of Hakim-i-Adil is to curtail the hand of the strong upon the weak. It is the sovereign who closes the doors of mischief, trouble and sanitation. God maked the fear of him penetrate the hearts of the people, so that they may live in peace under his justice and desire the stability of his power. ' By the light of imperial justice, some followed with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain through fear of punishment and out of necessary make choice of the path of rectitude.'

When protection is guaranteed and peace is established, its blessings follow and the blessings or conditions following peace and protection enumerated by these writers indirectly give us idea of their conception of kings' duties and the scope of state activities. 'People sleep with the doors of their houses unbarred; the women decked with all their ornaments and unguarded by males, fearlessly walk about the streets; the people practice virtues instead of harming one another; the three classes perform great sacrifice of various kinds; the science of agriculture and trade, which is the root of this world, exists in good order.' So with Abul Fazl under the rule of a true king, 'sincerity, health, chastity,justice, polite manners, faithfulness truth, an increase of sincerity….are the result.' He is continually attentive to the health of the boy politic and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof. The object of the state under him because to remove oppression and bring out the latent faculties, or utilize the capacities of subjects under him and so 'by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multiple of people become fused into one body.'[12]

Thus the existence of the people, their happiness, the institutions of society and the rules of morality and religion depend upon the king's office. Hence it is no wonder that the king's importance is emphasized. He becomes supreme in his sphere. He represents sovereignty in his person and all the seven elements of sovereignty are absorbed in one.'

King should act as time demands he must follow enquiry and not led by authority.

If he does not regard all conditions of humanity and rests of religions with the single eye for favor and not be mother to some and he step mother to others, he will not become for the exacted dignity.

The position of the king in this respect is further emphasized in one of Akbar's letters to the Shah of Persia. The sections of mankind who are a divine deposit and treasure must be regarded with the glance of affection.It must be considered that divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-garden of "peace with all". The eternal God is bounteous to all souls. Hence it is fitting that Kings, who are the shadow of divinity, should not cast away this principal.'[13]

The custom of an open darbar was a great step to create a closer contact and direct connexion between the people and the king, a fact which was entirely ignored by the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate. Beside the state chroniclers, contemporary writers and European travelers, who visited the Mughal Court at different time, agree on the point that people had direct access to the king.

The three daily meetings of the king had a profound influence upon the general administration of the empire. The institution of the darshan at the Jharoka, where the king sat with his face towards the rising sun, was an innovation base upon an intelligent study of the Indian mind. It meant indirectly respect to the practice of the worship of the sun. It afforded facilities to the Hindu to offer their prayer and recite the river hymer on the bank of the sacred river Jamuna. It created the means of attracting the masses towards the person of the king and impressing his existence and his personality upon their

mind. In short it appealed to the psychology of the mob and stirred the imagination of the masses. ‘Akbar was a profound student of Indian history and made a direct appeal to the deepest feelings of his subjects. When the padshah appeared at the Jharoka windows of the palace every morning……crowds of Hindus assembled, determined to begin the day auspiciously with the sight of “Visnu’s viceregent” on earth.

The regularly with which the routine established by Akbar was followed by himself and the importance which it had gained under him, was a sufficient guarantee of its continuance under his immediate successors who had personally witnessed it. On the whole, it shows the spirit with which they started and the aims and objects they had placed before themselves. It also shows that they fully understood that the success of administration under monarchy depends upon the manner in which a king spends his time. The realization of this important facts forms the key note to the measure of the success in which the three great Mughals achieved. They performed their duties cheerfully and themselves set examples to others on whom ultimately the carrying out of their desires and orders depended Abul Fazl says;” His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline, he does not reject that which superficial observers call an unimportant and counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own,never suffers equanimity to be disturbed. Monserrate, who as highly impresses by Akbar’s personality, supports this statement. He says: “It is hard to exaggerate how accessible he makes himself to all who wish audience of him. For he creates an opportunity almost every day for the common people or for the nobles to see him and converse with him and he endeavours to show himself pleasant spoken and affable rather than severe……Though at times

he may seem at leisure and to have laid aside public affairs, he does not cease to revolve in his mind the heavy cares of state.'

Akbar paid great attention to the organization of the Central and provincial governments, his system of central govt. was based on the structure of the government which had evoloved under the Delhi sultant, but the functions of the various departments were carefully recognized and meticulous rules and regulations were laid down for the conduct of affairs. Thus he gave a new shape to the system and breathed new life in it.[14]

The vakil was the highest officer next only to the emperor.[15] Theoretically, at the head of the administration was the wakil who was considered to be "emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the Household." As such he was the emperior's chief advisor; he was also specially responsible for advising the emperor upon "appointments, dismissals, promotions and demotions. The financial officers were not under his immediate superintendence, yet he received the returns from the heads of all financial departments and kept abstracts of their returns."[16] In practice, however, such an officer depends for its authority upon personal equation. These powers were exercised by Bairam Khan in the days of Akbar's tutelage; when the emperor grew up, he began to resent the wakil's authority and brought about his downfall. No other wakil was so powerful until the decay of the monarch's authority in the later days of the empire; mostly the office was ornamental; sometimes it was not even filled. Even when the wakil did not have much power, he was influencial as the highest official of the realm having access to the monarch and often his confidence.

The Vakil and his position

Akbar’s reign is a period of evolution and development of all the institutions which can be termed Mughal. Hence it is described to trace step by step the determination of the position of the vazir of the Empire and the division of functions and powers generally associated with the institution of vizarat.

Akbar has the advantage of the experience of three hundred years of Muslim rule in the country and it goes to its credit that he did not ignore it. Like the problems of maintaining peace in the vast area of the northern plains, the problem of vizarat of the great Empire also presented difficulties.

Akbar’s personal experience of Bairam’s vikalat was a sufficient warning against placing all powers in the hands of one vazir.

THE VAKILS OF THE EMPIRE[17]

	Name	Year of resign	Period
Akbar	Shihab-ud-Din	6th	1 year
	Bahadur Khan	6th	1 year
	Atka Khan	7th	1 year
	Mun’im han	7th – 12th	5 year

	Muzzaffar Khan	22^{nd} – 24th	2 year
	Khan Khanan	34th	A few months
	Mirz Khan (Abdur Rahim)	34th	A few months
	Khan-i-A'ZAM	40 th – 50th	10 years
	Mirza' Aziz Koka	40 th- 50 th	10 years

WAZIR / DIWAN

The wazir or Diwan was the chief advisor of the king in the administration.[18] Only when the monarch appointed an officer well versed in the fiscal administration as the wakil, could be exercise any supervisory authority over the diwan. In exeception instance the two offices were even combined :this, however, ran counter to the Mughal administrative theory. The wazir's authority stemmed out of his expert knowledge. Monarchs were inclined to be more tolerant of type failings of experts than of others ; financial experts were held in high esteem. The wazir had to be strict with the highest officers in their financial dealings with the state and sometimes had to perform unpleasant duties by calling them to account. If the monarch desired orderly fiscal ffairs he had to give the wazir support ; the wazir, on his part had to be tactful and not too harsh in his dealings with the officials. This was even trainer in the earlier period of the consolidation of the authority of the state, khwajah shah Mansur, whose execution was miscarriage of justice, had incurred the displeasure of the powerful officers because of his harshness. He was not removed until a trumped up charge of high treason based

upon forged evidence, brought about his execution. Even when Akbar believed in the truth of the evidence, he was sorry that he had to lose such a good officer. He disliked Todar Mal's religious fanaticism ; but the emperor did not permit his private feelings in the way of Todar Mal's Promotion.[19]

Akbar reorganized the central machinery of the administration on the basis of division of power between departments and of checks and balances, while the post of vakil was not abolished it was stripped of all the power and became largely decorative. The post was given to important nobles from time to time, but they played little part in administration. The head of the revenue department was continued to be the Wazir.[20]

Under Akbar Generally the Wazir did not hold a high mansab. Many nobles hold mansabs which were higher than this. Thus he was no longer the principal advisor to the ruler, but one who was an expert in revenue affairs. To emphasize this point Akbar generally used the title of diwan or diwan-i-ala in preference to the word Wazir. Sometimes several persons were asked to discharge the duties of the diwan joinly. The diwan was responsible for all income and expenditure and held control over jagir and inam lands.[21]

In the eighth year of the reign Muzzaffar Khan appointed as was divan and thus the revenue and the financial matters were separated from the office of the vakil and a further blow was given to its power and prestige.

The appointment of a person brought out from prison to this post was another assertion of power in the matter of appointments to the vizaat.[22]

Muzzaffar was the last of Akbar's vakils who exercised some influence over the administration and wielded power, but his position was purely personal and the respect which Akbar showed to him was due to his capacity, loyalty and efficient services both in the field and in the ministry and not to his office.

Muzzaffar remained in office for two years and the ministry worked efficiently till Muzzaffar was transferred to Bengal, in the beginning of the twenty fourth year. His transfer, like that of Mun'im, ended his career as the vakil of the empire and he ceased to have any connection with the administrative affairs of the central government.

Akbar's Diwan were responsible for many reforms in the administration and its procedure these brought about efficiency in place of the chaos which had prevailed because of wars and disorder's immediately preceding Akbar's reign.[23]

When the emperor felt that a single person was not adequate for the responsibilities of this onerous office, another expert was associated with him; the second men occupied only a slightly subordinate position. Sometimes the office was put into commission and two persons with equal authority were given charge of it. Occasionally an officer was appointed who was higher then the diwan, but who was not given the status of the wakil or his authority; his supervisory powers were limited to fiscal matters. He was called ishraf-i-diwan or mushrif-i-diwan ; Akbar once put Salim in charge of supervisory duties of the fiscal administration and the diwan was asked to consult him in all matters ; this was done probably to acquaint the prince with the work.[24]

The procedure adopted by the diwan's office in making payment shows how many checks were provided against the possibility of defalcation of funds or wrong payments.

The tradition created by the Mughal bureaucracy have yet not been overcome in the subcontinent inspite of the need for great dispatch in the modern conditions of society and the expanded requirement of the government.

The Iranian word dewan connected with dabir which is connected with the Assyrian dap public registers of receipts and expenditure kept in Greek (Syria and Egypt) and in Pahalavi (Persia) in the early years of the conquest, then translated into Arabic and continued in that language from this time. . . . The name, next, passed to the offices of the treasury and then was extended to the government of the 'Abbasid Caliphs…..[25]

Muzzaffar Khan was the first divan of the Empire and the work of the revenue and finance was, at his appointment, separated from the vikalat. He had practical knowledge of revenue in the country and besides having worked under Bairam Khan he had served as a pargana official, an as the diwan of the Buyutat he was acquinted with the machinery of the central government, as it then stood. A man rising from the base of the department to the top possesses certain advantages of first-hand knowledge of its working an details, which heads of departments suddenly coming to power do not generally possess. His choice any high connection's or recommendation is a sufficient testimony of the ability and capacity which must have impressed Akbar.

He served as divan with Mun'im as the vakil and Khavaja Jahan as his colleague, till the twelfth year of the reign, when Mun'im was transferred to Bengal an Khvaja Jahan was removed from his office.

During these three years, Akbar took every opportunity to raise the status of the divan and his position appears to have been firmly established by this name. It was on his report that Mir Bakhshi Lashkar Khan and Khvaja Jahan were removed from office and it was the sequel of the same affair in which Mun'im was involved and which led to his transfer from the central government to the east.

From the twelfth year up to the seventeenth, Muzzaffar acted as an independent minister and divan without any vakil over him. In the thirteenth year further division of work was made and Shihabud –din was placed in charge of khalsa lands. It appears that these lands were kept separate from the divan and the minister in charge of them was not under him.[26]

In the seventeenth year Muzzaffar felt from favour and sas removed from his office for bad behavior towards the king.

This ended the first phase of the career of Muzzaffar. During the eight years of his office 9 th-17 th), the position of the divan ,as head of the department and the first minister of the Empire, was firmly established.

During Akbar's tour in Punjab in which Abul Fazl also accompanied him the following matter's were decided :

- The assignment of the sarkar of Behar as a jagir to a number of Officers.
- The taking of mints from the charge of the chaudhris under government management and their assignment to government officers as below ;
- The mint of Lahore to Muzzaffar.
- Bengal to Raja Todar Mal.
- Jaunpur to Mansur.
- Gujarat to Kh.'Imad-ud-din Hasan.
- Patna to Asaf Khan.
- Fatehpur to K. 'Abdul samad Shirin Qalam.

- An order was passed that square rupis(chahar gosla) should be coined.[27]

During the same tour the Raja was ordered to disperse a group of Afghans to different provinces, as certain cases of their oppression were reported and their hold on certain villages created delay in the administration of justice and difficulty in getting evidence against them.[28]

Saivid Muzzaffar and Raja Birbal were dispatched to Jalundhar to inquire into the condition of the needy and report deserving cases to the kind.[29]

The Governor of the Punjab, Husain Quli Khan Mahram, was removed from office on charges of maladministration and neglect of duty. Sa'eed Khan was appointed in his place.[30]

Muzzaffar Khan and Shah Mansur were appointed to inquire into the case of the ‘amal juzar (collector) of Delhi against whom the petition of the public was received.[31]

On their return from the tour, Mansur and Muzzaffar were appointed to inspect the treasury of the capital.[32]

In the beginning of the twenty fourth years, Muzzaffar was appointed the Governor of bangal and a few months later the Raja was sent to Bihar on military duty to help the officers in dealing with the political situation and the revolt of the army. Thus the ministry was broken and the Khvaja alone continued as the divan.

Mir Bakhshi

The mir bakhshi of the mughal empire enjoyed all the powers of the divan-i-arz, as the head of the department, but his influence extended beyond his own department and his nearness to the king in the darbar added much to his prestige. The recruitment of the service on military lines the dependence of the rank of an officer on the number of soldiers required to be maintained by him and the payment of the salary on the presentation of the stipulated number of horsemen at fixed intervals, naturally led to the division of the power of the vazir and the chief bakhshi become an equal sharer with him on his responsibilities and prestige.

He looked to the enforcement of the regulations in the case, supervised the branding of the horses, inspected the stipulated number of soldiers and specified the amount

of the monthly salary on its basis. He kept the ta'liqa (abridgment) received by him and gave in its stead a certificate signed and seasled by hi, called sarkhat.

It was on the basis of this certificate that the divan made enteries in his records, which he put before the king for sanction.

The sanction thus obtained was again reported to the chief bakhshi,and it was after his signatures and the seal that the divan forwarded it to the vakil.

Like the farmans, parvanchas and barats also passed through him and on all such orders when completed he put his seal side by isde with that of the divan of the Empire.[33]

Thus his influence extended to all the departments of the central government and he dealt with them on an equal footing.

The Mir Bakhshi in the darbar

As the head of the military department, he was in touch with every mansabdar and hence his presence in the darbar formed a part of his permanent duties, In this capacity he stood on the right side of the throne and put before the king all matters connected with his department.[34]

Presentation of Candidates

He presented all the candidates for service. Iranis, Tranis, Rumi, Firangi, Hindi and Kashmiri came from service, their salaries were fixed by proper officers according to the regulations and the bakhshis presented them before the king.'[35]

Presentation of soldiers and horses

The soldiers and horses of the mansabdars after the dagh-o-tashima (branding and verification)in cases of fresh appointments and at regular intervals in cases of permanent officers, were also presented by the bakhshis before the king.[36]

Presentation of the officials and visitors

As the head of the department, he presented before the king all high officers of the state coming from the provinces or leaving the capital for their headquarters as well as embassies and other distinguished visitors. Hawkins calls him 'Lieutenant-General' in this connection.[37]

Presentation of the names of guards for rewards

As the chief officer connected with the guards of the place, he presented their names for rewards. The king gave them elephants, horses and other articles as well. 'The bakhshis read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything before. His Majesty gives them horses. When a soldier has received a horses, he is not recommended to his Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation.

The mir bakhshi at the capital

As the chief officer of the state and the head of the military department, he kept the list of the guards. The mansabdars at the capital were divided into seven divisions

and a day of the week was allotted to each. The duty was compulsory and was enforced strictly. The list was prepared by the chief bakhshi and presented before the king. The king supervised the changing of the guards every day.[38] Hawkins says : ‘It is the custom of all those receive pay of living from the king to watch once a week, none excepted, if they be well and in the city”. [39]

There was the very interesting case of Shahbaz Khan under Akbar. His name was put on the list next to Mirza Khan (afterwards “Akbar Rahim Khan Khanan). He not only resented it but strongly protested before the king and excedded the limits of politeness. He was imprisoned for his bad bahaviour for sometime [40]and placed under the charge of Rai Sal Darbari.

Another important case of the guards is associated with the name of Shaikh Farid, the mir Bakhshi, who saved a very critical situation by his bold use of the power of nominating the guards of the palace. At the time when Akbar was on his death bed and every hope of recovery was lost, Khan-i-A’Zam, the vakil of the Empire and Raja Man Singh, both of whom were interested in Prince Khusrau, were busy in their schemes to prevent the accession of Prince Salim. The contemporary writer, Tahavvur Khan, says that Shaikh Farib, who was anxious to see that no disturbance was caused in the city, took a very bold step at that time. He took the soldiers of the guard with him, went to the fort, took out all the heavy material of war and dissected it outside the city and himself walked courageously and with all befitting dignity to the residence of Prince Salim, congratulated him and saluted him as king. All the nobles and officers who were watching the turn of events followed this lead and at once rushed with their armies and followers to do homage to Prince Salim and when the situation was thus changed, the mir bakhshi took another step to checkmate the intrigues of the opposite party.

The mir bakhshi on tours with the king

Though the charge of the management of tours and establishment that accompanied the king was under the mir saman, who was the head of the karkhanas, the chief bakhshi had his hand in it also. As the head of the military department and chief connecting link between the king and the mansabdars he accompanied the king on tours, pleasure trips and hunting expeditions.

He looked to the arrangement of the camp and allotted places to mansabdars according to their rank.

Mansabdars and officers accompanying the king obtained leave to appear in the darbar through him. The list of such officers who were eligible for admission was changed every month.[41]

On tours he acted in his official capacity as he did at the capital and attended to all the business associated with him. He also looked to the convenience of the troops and their conveyance.

The mir bakshi on the battle-field

There were three different positions in which the mir bakhshi or any of his colleagues could be presented on the battlefield.

Firstly, if the Emperor led the army personally, as Akbar usually did or accompanied the army to supervise the arrangements and ensure efficiency and unity among the

officers as Shah Jahan generally did on all important occasions, the chief bakhshi performed his ordinary duties as on tours.

Secondly, he could be placed in charge of any particular division of the army or given complete command of the expedition. In such cases, he acted like an ordinary military general or the commanding officer.

Thirdly, he could be sent with an army placed directly under the charge of some prince or high amir. In such a case the mir bakhshi would be deputed only when the expedition was an important one or his presence was necessitated by any emergency. Shahbaz Khan under Akbar was deputed to Bihar In the Twenty fifth year of the reign with Raja Todar Mal and Mirza 'Aziz Koka'.

Besides these duties Mir Bakhshi Issued certificates under his seal and signatures for the following purposes:

Issue of certificates

- Grants of mansabs and sanctions of increments to the princes and other royal personagers, amirs of high rank and other high officials.
- Branding of horses.
- Assignment of guard duty.
- Permission withheld to appear at the guard.
- Muster of troops.
- Branding and verification of hter troops of high amirs and mansabdars, required in case of their death or dismissal.

- Orders of the postings of mansandars.
- Posting of the bakhshis and vaqi'a navis of the provinces.
- Appointments of the darogha, amin and the writer of thw guard.
- Appointment of the darogha, amin and mushrif for the branding and verification of troops attached to the king and the postings of the same to provinces and different armies.

The mir bakhshi also had the following duties:

Other papers dealt with

- Yad dasht of all orders relating to high amirs passed through his hands.
- The division of the armies into different sections was made in his office.
- He prepared the list of high amirs in attendance on the king.
- All appointments made in his presence at the court were certified by him and the yad dash revised and sealed in his office.
- He dealt directly and received papers from the bakhshis and vaqi'a navis of the provinces and the staff of the guards.

The mir bakhshi kept the following records in his office

The records kept in his office

- List of mansabdars stationed at the capital and deputed to provinces.
- Account of demands due from mansabdars.
- Abstracts of pay bills.
- Dastur-ul 'amal (regulations) governing the salaries in cash and jagir and the conversion of jagirs into cash salaries.

- List of the rank of mansabdars and the salaries drawn by them and the manner in which they were drawn.
- Descriptive rolls (chahra) of mansabdars and savars.
- Records of branding and verification.
- Records of the attendance of mansabdars in the provinces and different armies.
- Records of the attendance of guards at the palace.
- Lists of the armies and their arrangement on the day of meeting the enemy.

Role of Bakhsh in absence of Mir Bakhsh

In the absence of the mir bakhshi, the second bakhshi prepared the list of mansandars every day in attendance at the court but all orders issued at the court in his absence were put before him in his office.

As far as the account of the salaries of the mansabdars were concerned, the mir bakhshi kept in his office all the papers which were signed and sealed by him, but the records of leave and absence affecting the salary were kept by the second bakhshi.

The military accountant (sahib-i-taujih) kept the account of receipts and disbursements, item by item, but the total was made and entered by the officer who prepared the cheque (barat navis).

No definite number is mentioned in the A' in, but the expression bakhshian used at different places suggests that there were more than one bakhshis. In the Akbar nama the distinction in their position is found in the use of the term mir bakhshi, but it does not settle the number . Throughout the records of Akbar's reign the mir bakhshi, bakhshi or bakhshian, are the term used and an inference can be drawn from them that there was one chief bakhshi and one more bakhshi besides him and that he was not called the second bakhshi as he came to be called in subsequent reigns.

Under Akbar and Jahangir the designation was not settled. The chief bakhshi was called the mir and the other two only bakhshis. The proper designation as first, second and third bakhshis is found under Shah Jahan.The other two retained their distinct titles.[42]

LIST OF THE PROMINENT MIR BAKHSHIS

Akbar	Lashkar Khan Shahbaz Khan, Kamboh Asaf Khan Qazvini Shaikh Farid	No definite period of service of each as mir bakhshi can be determined.
Jahangir	Shaikh Farid (continued) Vazirul Mulk	1st year to 2nd year =1 year 2nd year to 7th year = 5 year
	Khvaja Abul Hassan Sadiz Khan	8th year to 6th year =8 years 16th year to 18th year =2 year

	Iradat Khan	19thy year to 22nd year =3 year
Shah Jahan	Iradat khan (continued for a short time)	
	Sadiq Khan (second time till death) Slam Khan	1st year to 6th year = 5 year 6th year to 8th year = 2 year

The Mir Bakhshi is generally regarded as the pay master of the army, but it was not a part of his regular and permanent duties. He was concerned with the financial matters only when the army was on active service. The divan and his representatives did not move with it and they only acted through him. Thus it was only on the battlefield that the sanctioned amounts were placed under his charge and he distributed the cash salaries and advanced necessary loans to the army but when the army returned from active services the mir bakhshi submitted the account to the divan's office and ceased to be the paymaster.

Another feature of the office was the nature of the work attached to it made its holder essentially a military man. Military qualifications and a military career became the chief basis for appointment to the post, but the nature of the office-work, together with an equally important duty in the darbar, naturally led him to possess literary qualifications also and to be a cultured man. Thus the combination of two different types of work necessarily prevented him from becoming purely of a military type and the list of the office holders of the period shows that most of them did combine both qualities and particular regard was paid to this point in their selection.

Asaf Khan Qazvini and Shaikh farid under Akbar were regarded as men of the pen as well as of sword.

It will be interesting to mention here that Akbar's chief bakhshis, lashkar Khan and Shahbaz Khan were purely military men and both of them though noted for efficiency and loyalty, were punished for rude behavior on more than one occasion.

MIR SAMAN

Mir Saman or Khan-i- Saman was the minister of the royal Family and looked after royal building, roads, parks, karkhanas etc.[43] He was the incharge of the imperial household including the supply of ll the provisions and articles for the use of inmates of the haram or the female apartments. Many of these articles were manufactured in Royal workshops called Karkhanas.[44]

In the real sense Mir Saman was the Supdt. Of stores and was also the head of majesty's personal staff. The karkhanas dealt with every article from pearls, precious stones, swords and scimitars to guns and heavy artillery. It maintained horses and elephants for the army, beast of burden for baggage and other animals for royal hunt.[45]

It is important to point out that during Akbar reign the term Mir Saman is not used at all. Mr. Blochmann has pointed out one examples of his use in a biographical note on Khvaja jalauddin Mahmud of Khyrasan, but there it is used as a title conferred upon him by Humayun which under the circumstances are not mentioned nor his power's defined.[46] In the Akbarnama also there are fewer references to him than to other of his rank.

Under Akbar this office did not hold the rank and position which he did under his two successors and the entire work assouater with his office had not developed upon him in that region. In connexion with the Karkhanas, the divan-1 buyutat is more conspicuous under Akbar and it was later developments which placed him in charge of the whole department and settled his position in the administrative machinery and in this capacity he came to be known as Mir Saman.

The system of maintaining the Karkhanas by the control govt. not only fulfilled all the needs of the state at a low price, but gave an encouragement and impetus to different industries of the countryand the improved works executed and articles manufactured in the state factories must have served as models and furnisher batter designs to local artisans.

The attention which Akbar paid to his karkhanas and to recruiting artisans from different countries and in training local men in every art is recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari.[47]

SADR-US-SADR

According to Muslim Jurists the sadr is the connecting link between the king and the people the upholder of shara' and the spokesman (naqis) of the ulama. He is indispensable to the state and the king.

The king should show him every possible mark of respect and consult him in all matters of the law and religion. Whatever opinion he gives on such matters, the king should not show the slightest hesitation in acting upon it.

All civil and military officers of the state should carry out the orders passed by him in his capacity as a sadr, and if any opposition is offered even by a noble or a piller of the state, the king should not be slow to punish him,so that the position of the sadr be upheld and his respect increased in the eyes of the people.

The stipend or salary of the sadr should be fixed in such a way that he may not be required to apply to the divan, the vazir or any other officer of bthe state.

Duties of Sadr-us-Sadr

The sadr should keep a close watch over the ulama of the state , inquire into their condition and capacities as teachers and instructors and exercise full control over the teaching of all sorts of knowledge in the state. Thus, while exercising a sort of censorship in this matter, he should be in touch with teachers and students and discourage and if necessary prohibit, the teaching of subjects which might affect the religious ideas of the Muslims.

He should encourage and properly reward honest and capable teachers and intelligent and promising students.

The qazis and the muftis should be appointed from this class of teachers and students and deserving cases recommended to ther king for award of stipends and lands.

If the king appoints such a sheikh-ul-Islam and he carries out his duties in a way calculated to enhance the prestige of Islam and the diginity of shara and the

promotion of its knowledge, the king can be said to have fulfilled the duty of the protection of shariat.

His position in the state determined the scope of his activities and outlined his duties which were three :

- As the most distinguished scholar of Islam and the religious head, he exercised a sort of censorship over education, ideas and morals of the people. It was in this capacity that he exercised an immense influence and his hand reached every individual of the state. Here he acted as the representative of the ulema of the state and brought to the notice of the king what he thought detrimental or prejudicial to the interests of religion and the king had title option in acting upon such advice.
- Islamic law being the basis of the law of the state, he become the head of the judicial department and as such responsible for the appointment of the qazis and muftis in the state and the proper discharge of their duties. In this capacity he kept himself in touch with the ulema, scholars and the students of Islam, to ensure a regular supply of officials for his department. This enhanced his power and gave him a definite place in the administration of the state.
- As the chief connecting link between the King and the people, by virtue of his position as the chief of Islam, he recommended to the king the cases of the ulema and scholars developed to the service of religion for suitable stipends to relieve them from the anxiety of the earning their livelihood and also brought to the king's notice other deserving cases for state help. This duty brought him in contact with the divan of the state and further increased increased the sphere of his influence.

At the beginning of Akbar's reign the sadar occupied an important position, but as far as the history of the period and its administrative side is concerned their position appears to have been limited to the use of their power to award stipends and jagirs to the ulama and needy people.

The reforms of Akbar were directed in the first instance towards the resumption of lands held by undeserving persond without legal authority. The inquaries which began with the holdings of five hundred bighas and above were in the end carried even to less than a hundred bighas. Abul Fazl is silent about the resumptions of lands which were made as a result of these inquiries, but Bada'uni is loud enough in announcing and condemning them in his own way. Though he has nowhere given any figures, his remarks are suggestive enough and they give a clear idea to the extent to which these resumptions were carried under Akbar. He says that in the year 987 A.D. (A.D.1579) when political disturbances in Bengal and Bihar spread to other parts of the Empire also, the ulama said that the king disturbed our madad-i-ma'as lands and God has now disturbed his country.[48] Similarly, at the appointment of Mir Fatahulla to the sadarat, he remarks that the office was nothing more than siyaha navisi (clerkship) and the mir was raised to the office not to give lands to the poor but to take from them that which thay held. In the year 994 (1585) when kamalai shirazi was made the eficiatingsadr in the absence of Mir Fatahulla, who was sent to the Deccan, Bada'uni thought the arrangement was made to resume the remaining tracts of charitable lands from their holders.

The second object was to regulate the department and the future grants of madad-i-ma'ash. As a result of a series of inquiries into the grants of lands, the power of the sadr were greatly reduced. Shaikh' Abdul Nabi could award as much as he

killed (alammidad), but Mir Fatahulla inspite of his high position and the favour of the king had not the power to grant even five bighas.[49] Though the statement is not without exaggeration it is not very far from truth because Abul Fazl says that under Mir Sadr Jahan, the successor of Mir Fatahulla, the powers of the sadr were limited to the grant of fifteen bighas. This was the last of the orders of Akbar in this matter and it appears to have stood till the end of his reign.

Though resumptions were made on a large scale and the powers of the sadr were reduced , there is no reason to believe that further grants were not made. As late as the forty first year of the reign, Qazi Nurulla was deputed to inquire into the condition of the sayurghal lands of the province of Agra and to make fresh grants to the needy.

Another reform in the same connexion and with the same object of curtailing the powers of the sadr was that separate sadrs were appointed for the provinces and the list of appointments shows that no regard was shown to the necessary qualifications for the office as required by Shara. In the words of Abul Fazl they were experienced persons of good intentions.[50]

Akbar abolished the appointment of sadr altogether, substituting in its place six provincial sadrs. This statement is incorrect and he has not given any authority for it. The office of the chief sadr continued throughout the reign of Akbar, as the appended list of their names shows. The appointment of provincial sadrs was in connection with the organization of the department and similar to the appointments of provincial divans and bakhshis. The arrangement continued as a part of the administrative system throughout the long period of Akbar’s reign.

Akbar's objects appears to have been achieved and efficiency established in the department. After the fall of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi, Akabar's personal vigilance appears to have continued throughout the remaining period of twenty seven years (1578-1605), and during this long period there is only one case of irregularity in the department, in which the charge of corruption and bribery was brought against Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi, the sadr of Gujarat, in the twenty- eighth year of the reign. He was tried, found guilty and imprisoned.

Miran Sadr Jahan, the last of Akbar's sadrs, was known to Jahangir since his boyhood. When as a prince he used to go to Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi's house to take lessons in hadis, Miran acted there as Shaikh's assistant. Jahangir was on familiar terms with him, and had on once occasion said to him : 'After my accession to power, I will pay off all your debts or give you the rank which you then demand.'

Other Important duties

Another important function connected with the duties of the sadr was looking the poor and the destitute and meeting their needs and requirements out of the funds placed at his disposal for this purpose. This mostly consisted in feeding the poor on particular occasions or during famines and providing for their clothing, especially in winter. Under Akbar, this part of the department also appears to have been organized. Abul Fazl, in the A'in, under the chapter on alms, says, ' His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries. . . . .Many enjoy daily, monthly or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting. . . it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars . . . .[51] "There is a treasurer always in waiting at court and every beggar whom His Majesty sees, is sure to find relief,'[52]

Akbar had cash ready by his hand at court, in the palace and on his outings. A courtier nominated by him kept some gold and silver in the court, a kror of dams (Rs. 2,500) in the palace and a large sum of money was always carried in a purse on his excursions.[53]

The chief feature of those charities is that they proceeded from the conception of the King's duties towards his subjects and as far as the poor were concerned Muslims nowhere made any difference between caste and creed. The state considered it to be its duty to provide the means of living for its subjects ; thus those unable to earn their living were maintained by the state and the department of sadr performed that function. It was for the same purpose that Akbar devoted so much attention to purging this department of its evil practices and limiting its benefit to the deserving ones. The four groups of people considered to be deserving included whose energies were devoted to the good of the public and whose time was better engaged in it than it could otherwise have been, hence they were freed from the care of earning their livelihood. This referred to scholars of all classes and the ulama and dervishes devoted to the cause of their religion. The third ensured the protection of the old families of good birth whose descendants through the vicissitudes of time were unable to support themselves. There are numerous examples of such cases and special instructions were issued to provincial officers to attend to them. The provisions made for the descendants of government officers and arrangements to maintain and educate the sons of nobles at the court, after the death of their fathers, were all the result of the same policy. The fourth group included the old, the weak, the disabled or incapacitated and also those who bat times feel under adverse circumstances. They can be termed as unemployed in the modern sense. The case of one Sheikh Ziaulla was reffered

to Akbar and it was said that his family were so hard pressed that they were all living on grain only. He belonged to a respectable family of scholars. Akbar was much affected and he included him among those who attended his private assemblies in the "ibadat khana."

The second feature was that Akbar took this duty upon himself and most of these charities were distributed by him or under supervision.

The Sadrs of Akbar

- Shaikh Gadai Kamboh
- Khvaja Muhammad Salih
- Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi'
- Sultan Khvaja
- Mir Fatahulla Shirazi
- Miran Sadr Jahan

The third feature was that inspite of the good intentions of these monarchs and the large sums spent on such charities the benefits were not lasting. Charities do not appear to have been well regulated under Muslim monarchs. The benefits in this sense were occasional and temporary. No permanent institution or organization came into existence for charities apart from the fixed vazifas and grants of lands. At the most it had the advantage of saving a section of the poor from starvation and the king made it his chief concern wherever he moved.

Qazi-ul-Quzat

Qazi-ul-qazat was the chief official with position next to the emperor above. He decided cased in accordance with the Islamic law and also appointed Qazis in different parts of empires.

‘The Mughal organization proceeded entirely on these lines. The king appointed the chief qazi sadr who possessed the powers of judge the had the power of appointing subordinate qazis in the dominations, through the king’s sanction was necessary in all such appointments. The king also exercised his power to appoint more than one judge ina city and their duties were accordingly defined. These were the qazis and mir adls. In all big cities and towns the two existed side by side.

The second agency for the administration of justice was the court of the king. The Mughal emperors utilized to the utmost the sanction given by muslim jurists to kings to try judicial cases.

The king tried both civil and criminal cases and acted both as a court of first instance and a court of appeal. The cases on record scattered in the chronicles of the period show that the king received before him more criminal cases than civil for which the explanation is quite simple.

Justice is a name to which every knee will bow. Equality is a word which many fear and detest. Yet the just was rightly declared by Aristotle to be a form of the equal. Hence impartially in justice means two things:

- Law is applied impartially: with accurate equality to all cases that fall within its definitions. The law may be good or bad. As judged by an ethical

standard, the rule itself may be just or unjust; but in every case the rule is universal for the cases to which it applies. But equality before the law goes further than this. It is not enough to administer law impartially as it exists.

- The law itself must be the same for all without any distinction of caste or creed, rank or race. Professor Hobhouse says : ' Equality before the law as a modern understands it, means not merely that the penalties attached to a case of homicide, whatever they may be, will be impartially enforced, but that the penalties will be the same whoever and whatever the slayer and the slain may be. It means equal protection of life and limb for everyone under the law and equal penalties on everyone violating them.'[54]

The mughal emperors can fairly claim to be impartial in justice according to the standard set above. Apart from theoretical references and the saying of these emperors which are frequently found in the annals and emphasized by the chroniclers of the period, actual cases can be quoted in which impartial justice in the above sense was rendered by them in the period covered by this book. In the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Akbar a case was brought forward against the king's favorite governor and boyhood playmate Khan-i-a'Zam Mirza ;Aziz koka , who during his governorship of Gujarat had arrested an 'Amil 'Ala-ud-din for embezzlement and handed him over to one of his servants. This servant had a grudge against the 'amil and he had him beaten to death. Khan-i-A'Zam punished his servant capitally for the offence and Abul Fazl says' this act of justice he performed not at the request of anybody but from piety of God'. Thus the man who was guilty of the murder was brought to justice but the matter did not end there. When the father of the 'amil came from Persia to seek redress the case was reopened and the king ordered it to be tried by the ordinary court of justice. The responsibility lay upon Khan-i-A'zam to prove himself innocent in the matter. In the end he succeeded in

setting the matter by paying a large sum as fine (khinbaha) according to Shara' to the father of the murdered' amil. Hence Abul Fazl feels justified in remarking upon the occasion,' His Majesty. . . . in his court makes no difference between relative and stranger and no distinction between a chief of chiefs and a tangle-haired beggar . . . .[55]

Similarly, Akabr created a surprise in Gujar by punishing with death Jujhar Khan, one of the most powerful military chiefs of the late kingdom of Gujarat, for the murder of one Changez Khan. The case was brought forward by the mother of the murdered man during Akbar's stay there. Inquiry was made and the accused was found guilty and sentenced to death . It may be observed that it was done in the eighteenth year of the reign when the conquered province was not even properly subjugated. 'The old and deserted women never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds and was astonished on beholding such justice. . . . .General puplic (umum I khaulariq) received enlightenment from this just sentence.[56]

In this way judicial administration was based on the principal of equality. Now only was the law one for all but the punishment awarded in recorded cases were the same for high and low. The courts were few, procedure simple trials Quick.

Here it is pertinent to mention here that opening of kings council to other officer's and nobles was another check upon the power's of minister's. There were three kinds of councils (majlis) (A) Those in which departmental affairs were discussed. (B) In which all political and military matter's apart from purely administrative affairs were discussed and (C) In which topics of general and academic interest were discussed in the presence of the king. This custom was very popular during Akbar reign and was followed by his successors.

In true sense the system of balancing power did not stop with its division among the ministers. Akbar appears to have carried it much further during the process of the development of his institution.

Besides these prominent officials Mir munshi was the incharge of royal correspondence. Muhtasib combined both secular as well as religious duties.[57] He formulated necessary rules for the regulation of the market. As Dr. A.L. Srivastava has observed he tried to prevent the use of wine, hemp and other intoxiention cants. He also tried to prevent gambling and other types of evils. He also ensured that the muslims carried out prayer's (Nimaz) five times a day in according with the religious laws and those who failed to abide by these principles were punished by the Muhtasib.[58] Mushrif-i- Mumalik was the Accountant General. Mushtanf-i-Mumalik was auditor general.

Daroga-i-Dakchauki was in charge of postal department and responsible for the carriage of news from various parts without any delay. These news were carried on horse back to different parts at the quickest possible speed.

Mir Barr was supdt of forests. Mir-i-arz officer incharge of petition. Waqia Navis was news reporters &writers. News reporters used to kept the centre informed all the happened in the province.[59]

Diwan-i-khalisa was the incharge of crown lands. Mir-i-Mal was the incharge of privy purse. Mir-i-tozak was incharge of ceremonies. Mir Bahri was incharge of ships and boats Mir Manzil was incharge of Quarters. Mir atish or Daroga-i-topkhana was the chief of the artillery. Khufia News Navis was the secret letter

writers. Undoubtedly Mughal administration under Akbar was highly centralized and its efficiency has been testified by various foreign observers.[60]

Akbar made division and systematic organization of the empire into different provinces or subas. There number was fifteen at the time of death of Akbar, rose to nineteen under Shahjahan and twenty one under Aurangzab, Akbar established a uniform pattern of administration in the provinces. A province was under a governor who in the beginning was called a Sipahsalar or commander of armed forces.[61] Sometimes it was also known as nazim. As his title signifies the main duty was the defense of the area and maintainance of peace and order. However from the very beginning he was also the head of the civil administration, Abul Fazl says that the forces of the province and its inhabitants are under his order. On the civil side his duty was to encourage and expand cultivation. He was required to extend all help to the peasants and to appoint the amils and keep himself informed about their work. He was also to undertake the construction of tanks, wells canals and other buildings of public utility. He was also to interest himself in laying orchards and gardens.[62]

One of the main problem of a large empire in an age when fast means of transport were unavailable was that of maintenance of the means of communications. It was fully realized that roads and rivers are the life live of the empire. Various national highways were maintained and improved communication between capital and various provinces were maintained similarly. New roads were built to open up the country. New bridges were built and old ones repaired.

Akbar has the credit of several architectural highlights, which can be listed as follows :

- Building built by Akbar are : Agra Fort (1655) Lahore Palace(1572),Fatehpur Sikri, Buland Darwaja and Allahabad Fort(1583).
- The architecture of Fatehpur Sikri is an excellent blending of Persian, Central Asian and various Indian (Bengal and Gujarat) styles. It is also known as epic poem in Red Sandstone . Indian Tradition included deep eaves, balconies and kiosks. Central Asian style is evident in the use of glazed blue tiles.
- Two unusual buildings at Fatehpur Sikri are Panch Mahal and Diwan-i-Khas.
- The panch Mahal has the plan of Buddha Vihar.
- The Jodhabai palace, Diwan-i-Aam and Diwan-i-khas are Indian in their plan.
- Buland Darwaja (built after Gujarat victory) formed the main enterance to Fatehpur sikri. It is built in the Iranian style of half dome portal.
- Salim Chisti's Tomb(redone in Marble by Jahangir is the first Mughal Building in pure marble), palace of Birbal, Anup Talao, Mariam Mahal are also Inside the Fatehpur Sikri.
- He built the Jahangiri mahal in Agra Fort according to Hindu design based on Man Mandir.
- Haroon Minar- a tower built by Akbar in memory of his elephant (Haroon).
- He also began to built his own tomb at Sikandara which was later completed byJahangir.

These buildings, minar, tombs and mahal were properly maintained during reign of Akbar. It reflects his socio-cultural and administrative outlook. Diwan-i-Bayutat was responsible for its maintenance and worked under Mir Saman.

The government of the province was organized on the same lined as the government at the centre. In brief provincial officers worked under the general supervision of the

governor, but they were really responsible to their counterparts at centre.[63] The function of the governor included maintenance of law and order, enforcement of imperial decrees, administration of criminal justice etc.

The provinancial diwan was incharge of revenue administration of the province. His responsibilities were similar to those of the central diwan(diwan-i-kull). He acted as a check on the subedar and was directly responsible to the central diwan. The bakshi was directly responsible to the mir bakshi and discharged duties similar to those of the latter. Other provincial officials were qazi, sadr,muhtasib etc.

Relationship between Centre and Provinces

The centre appointed the officials of provinces, sarkars and paraganas and hence they were directly responsible to the centre. Further the centre could frequently transfer the provincial and local officials in order to prevent them from acquiring local roots and interests. Frequent tours were undertaken by the central Officers and the emperor himself in order to make the local officials function properly.[64] Further, horsemen as well as dispatch runners transmitted news and reports expeditiously from different parts of the empire. According to Ibn Battutah, the horse-post, called ulaq, used royal horses stationd at fourmile intervals. The foot-post which was called dawa, had three stations per mile. Between the two, the human runner traveled faster than the horseman. Despite all the above precautions, the control of the centre above the provinces and local units were not always very effective, particularly during the reign of week rulers.

In the administrative set up the last and the greatest check was the king himself whose presence in the court, in councils, on tours and expeditions and his vigilance

over all the activities of the state, at times held together the most discordant elements and utilized them to the utmost possible advantages of the empire.[65] The wonder, therefore, is not that Akbar maintained peace and established law and order throughout the length and breath of their far flung empire, but he did so admirably.

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MANSABDARI SYSTEM

The Mughal State had no division of its civil and military functions and a Mughal sepoy defended the international border's, manned the forts tought battles, but had also to perform a policeman's duties in the times of peace.

Govt. officials too were required to perform civil and military duties simultaneously Akbar wanted to evolve a unique system of regulating these imperial services and the result was the promulgation of the Mansabdari system. Akbar introduced this Mansabdari system in 1571 with the help of Shahbaz Khan.[1] All the gazetted imperial officers of the state weree styled as Mansabdar's. Initially they were classified into sixty six grades from the Mansab of ten thousand, although, in practice only thirty three grades were constituted.[2] The broad outlines of the system heve been given by Abul-i-fazl in the Ain-I Akbari.[3]

According to some scholars Akbar was not the originator of the mansabdari system certain elements of the system were present in the Administration of Babar and Humayun who originally briught it from Persia to India. However, it can not be denied that the system was given a systematic shape by Akbar and he put it on a regular footing.[4]

The word 'mansab' is derived from the Arab term mansib[5] meaning a post, an office, rank or status hence mansabdar means holder of the rank or an offricer some modern historians theorise that Akbar was not originator of the system because the practice of grading the military personal by the grant of mansabs had already mean in vogue in various muslim countries. The mansabdari system was thus not new to India.

Akbar took it from the system introduced by Khalifa Abba said and accepted by Chenqhiz Khan and Timur.

Certain it was Akbar who had credit of perfecting the system of mansabdari. He alone organized the mansab of his imperial officer's both civil and military, in a systematic form and so regulated the entire structure of services round the pivot of mansab that it become associated with his name. An examination of the list of mansabdar's given by Abn-I-Fadl reveals the existence of various ranks, within each rank there was three subdivisions from the very beginning.[6] Blochmann translation has ambiguity. For example he explains "his majesty sees through some men at the first glance and confer; upon them high rank. Sometimes he increases the mansabs of a servant, but decreases his contingent. He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden. The monthly grants made to the mansabdar's vary according to the condition of their contigents. An officer whose contigent comes upon his mansab, is put into the first class of his rank, if his contigent is one half and upwards of the fixed number's he is put into the second class; the third class contains those contingents which are still less." Irvine is right when he says that the object of the mansabdari system was to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay, it did not necessarily imply the exercise of any office and meant nothing beyond the fact that the holder was in the employment of the state and bound in return to yield certain services when called upon.[7]

The recruitment and promotion of the mansabdar's was in the hands of the emperor who could also dismiss them at will. Mostly the recruitment of the mansabdars was made on the recommendation of the mirbakshi who presented the person to the emperor. If the emperor was convinced of the utility of the person to the state he was granted a mansab. A complete record of each mansabdar was maintained and

promotion were made on the basis of his record (known HI-QI-QAT).[8] Generally, the promotions were granted to the mansabdar's on the eve of fresh expeditions or on a successful conclusion of an expedition. The occasions of auspicious and testivity were also utilized to grant promotions. In normal times also promotions were granted in case there was a vacancy. If the king found the mansabdar dishonest or disloyal he could also dismiss him.[9]

Under the mansabdari system, different number's which could be divided by ten were used for ranking officers. They were also meant for fixing the salaries and allowances of officer's.[10] W.Drvine in the army of the Indian Mughals observes that the system intermined the rank, pay scale and the position of the imperial offcer in the royal court in respect of other Govt. officers. During Akbar's regime initially, the lowest rank was that of number ten and highest that of ten thousand. Mansab above 5000 and later on that of 7000 were given only to princess, the highest rank of ten thousand was given exclusively to Salim, the crown prince. At a later stage, however, Akbar raised the highest rank to twelve thousand. During Jahangir and Shahjahan's reign, mansabs only 8000 were given to officers which princes were given mansabs upto forty thousands the later Mughals gave mansabs upto the number of fifty thousands).

All officer's below the rank of the mansab of 500 were called mansabdars, the officers enjoying the mansab from 500 to 2500 were called amirs and those ranked over 2500 were called amir-I-azam. The officer called Khan-I-jahan was still higher in rank while the highest rank in the army was that of Khan-i-khana. When the empire was small under Akbar and the number of officer's with high title too many, assignment given to them in lieu of their salaries had to be inflated until they bore no reality.[11]

Although the mansabdar system had made military service the basic consideration for the classification of all the imperial officer's, it was understood that all the mansabdars were not equally good military generals nor were they expected to recruit and hold under their charge the number of soldier's as indicated by their mansab or rank. For instance a mansabdar of one thousand was not always a commander of one thousand men. If employed in the revenue or judicial establishment, he might not have had even a single soldier under him. The mansabdars of each category were subdivided further into three grades on the basis of the actual number of soldier's commanded by them. An officer whose contigent comes upto his mansab is put into the first class of his rank; of his contigent is one half and upward of the fixed number's he is put into the second class; the third class contains those whose contigents are still less.[12] A mansabdar of one hundred belonged to the first class if he actually furnished 100 soldier's; he was a second class mansabdar if the number of soldier under his change was fifty or more but less than 100, he was graded as a third class mansandar of the number of soldier's maintained by him was less than fifty.[13] No mansab was hereditary.[14]

In addition to the contigents of the mansabdars certain other soldier's were also maintained during the times of Akbar. There consisted of two categories- the Dakhilis and Ahdis. The Dakhilis meant the fixed number of troops which were handed over by the state to the mansabdars. They were paid by the state. In the dercriptive rolls there soldiers were shown as nimah awaran or hall trooper's. The Ahdis were a class of brave soldier's who were recruited by the emperor himself and were not under the orders of anyone. They were the direct servants of the kind and served as his body guards.Ain-I Akbari gives the following description of the Ahdis: There are many brave persons whom his majesty does not appoint to a mansab, but

when he frees from being under the order's of anyone. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of his majesty and are dignified by their independence.

Significance of Zat and Swar

The threefold gradation of mansabdar's caused much confusion in the army ranks. The central government found it impossible to ascertain the exact or even an approximate number of regular soldier's controlled by all the imperial mansabdar's. The difficulty was solved by the introduction of two ranks Zat and Swar for each mansabdar historians are divided over the interpretation and significance of there ranks. Some like A.L. Srivastava say that while the rank of Zat indicates the total number of soldier's number a mansabdar, the rank of Swar indicates the number of horsemen under him, other like Dr. R.P. Tripati hold the view that the rank of Swar was given to mansabdar's to fix their additional allowances.

A mansabdar was paid rupees two per horse therefore,if a mansabdar received the rank of 500 swar he was given rupees one thousand as additional allowance. According to Dr. J.L. Mehta, the Zat rank was not a new introduction; it simply referred to the original mansab enjoyed by an officer earlier, and it determined both its status and standing in the administrative hierarchy as well as his position in the court. The swar rank referred to the actual number of soldiers under the command of an officer. The swar was essentially a military rank that showed the distinction between the civil and military characters of the mansabdars.

The introduction of the double rank, however, made the threefold classification of the mansabdars more intelligible and precise. Thus a mansabdar whose Zat and Swer ranks were equal, was the first category among his grade of mansabdars i.e. if a

mansabdar enjoyed the rank of 5000 Zat and 5000 swar then he was of the first category among the mansabdars of 5000.The one whose swar rank was less than his zat rank but more than half of the latter belonged to the second class i.e. if a mansabdar enjoyed the rank of 5,000 zat and 3,000 swar then he belonged to the second category among mansabdars of 5,000. A mansabdar whose rank was less than half of the zat rank was a third class mansabdar, i.e. if a mansabdar had the rank of 5,000 zat and 2.000 or even less swar , then he was of the third category among rank of 5,000 mansabdars. On the basis of swar ranks, the approximate strength of the imperial army under the effective control of the mansabdars could be readily calculated. Beside soldiers, the military generals maintained horses, camels, bullock carts and beasts of burden as specified by their swar as a part of their establishment.

SALARY STRUCTURE

Based upon the details given in the Ain-i-Akbari of the salaries and other emoluments of the various categories of government officials, we can get a good idea of the salary structure of the mansabdars. The mansabdars received cash salaries and these were fairly high. No mansabdar, whether he was a high ranking general or a prince, could join a jagir indefinitely. Each mansabdar received a fixed rate of pay according to his mansab. Even after meeting the cost of maintaing his establishment, including horses and beasts of burden, the mansabdar was left with a substantial amount of money to ensure for himself a rather luxurious life-style. Starting at his lowest level, a mansabdar of ten received a monthly salary of rupees 100, 82.5, and 75, depending on whether he belonged to the first, second or third class.Each mansabdar was required to maintain four hourses of specified breeds, the

approximate cost of which was rupees forty-four per month. After deducting this expenditure from his gross emoluments, the first class mansabdar of ten received fifty-six rupees, the second-class mansabdar received thirty-eight rupees and the third class mansabdar, thirty-three rupees. The salary of soldiers in the mansabdar contigent came from the state treasury. Similarly for higher officers, such as the amir of the lowest rank or the mansabdar of 500, gross emoluments per month were to the tune of rupees 2500,2300 and 2100, depending on whether he belonged to the first second or third class. After deducting rupees 1170 was the approximate cost of his establishment from the gross emoluments, the net personal salary of the mansabdar came to 1330, 1130, and 930 rupees for the first, second and the third class respectively.

Abul Fazl mentions that the establishment of mansabdar of 500 comprised 30 horses and 12 elephants, ten camels, two mules and 15 wheel carts. Subordinate government officials like horse men, foot soldiers, matchlockmen, and even the menials, were also fairly well-paid, For examples, the monthly salary of a foot soldiers varies from 240-500 dam, when forty dams equaled a silver rupee.

Advantages and disadvantages of the Mansabdari System

The mansabdari system was an improvement over the systems of tribal chieftainship and feudalism; was a progressive and systematic method adopted by Akbar to re-organize his army within the fold of despotic monarchy. Although many mansabdari were allowed to recruit soldiers on tribal or religious considerations, they were also made to know that they owed unconditional allegiance to the central government. Single men approaching the court the hope of obtaining employment in the army,

were obliged first to seek a patron. These men generally attached themselves to chiefs from their own race. Mughals became the followers of Mughals, Persians of Persians and so on. This led to certain homogeneity of military traits and the development of tatics particularly suited to the military prowess of individual groups. Certain groups began to be identified with qualities- Rajput and Pathan soldiers were considered most valuable for their martial prowess and fidelity, for instance.

As a result of the mansabdari system, the emperor had no longer to depend exclusively on the mercenaries of the feudal chieftains. The mansabdari system put an end to the jagirdari system within the territories under the direct control of imperial government. No portion of a mansab was hereditary, and a mansabdar's children had to began afresh. All appointments, promotions, suspensions and dismissal of the mansabdars rested entirely with the emperor. Every mansabdar was thus held personally responsible to the monarch; this factor eliminated chances of disaffection and revolts by the military officers and may be said to be a mayor achievement of mansabdari system.

Nevertheless, the mansabdari system suffered from many disadvantage as well. The system did not give birth to an army of national characters since two-thirds of the mansabdars were either foreigners or descendents of foreigners immigrants. Inspite of Akbar's secular policy in the matter of recruitment, Hindus formed barely nine percent of the aggregate strength of the imperial cadre. The state'sfailure to recruit all the soldiers under the supervision of a central or imperial agency, was to cost it clearly. Since mansabdars were free to recruit their soldiers as they pleased, they preferred to enroll men of their own tribe, race, religion or region. While this led to homogenization of military tatics, it also divided the imperial army into many

heterogeneous units. There were no uniform rules for the systematic training of the soldiers, nor for the conduct of regular drill of physical exercise to keep them fit. No uniform standard was fixed for arming the soldiers; as a result there was considerable variation in the weapons bone by them the standard of efficiency also varied from contingent to contingent.

Furthermore as a soldiers were recruited by a mansabdar for his own contingent, they regarded him as the employer and patron and tended to display more loyalty of their immediate military commander than the emperor, A mansabdar always commended the same troops for life and transfers of the soldiers from one contingent to another were not known. As the soldiers received their salaries and allowances from the mansabdars, the latter could cheat the state if they wanted to. A dishonest mansabdar could for instance, recruit less than the specified number of troops as indicated by his swar rank and get the salaries paid to the fictitious man or alternatively, get fictitious payrolls prepared in the name of non-existent person, in collaboration with the corrupt of the army establishment or the finance department.

The high ranking mansabdars like the amirs and amir-ul-umara were most highly paid officers of the state, as the mughal empire was in a formatting stage it was involved in a process of continuous conquests and annexations. Thus the military officers were often in a position to appropriate for themselves a substantial part of the body. Even if Akbar did come to know of the misconduct of his senior officers in this regard, he could not take action against each one of them.

As members of the ruling elite, the ranking mansabdars followed the examples of their rulers in enjoying highly luxurios and extravagant standards of living. Since their offices and privileges were not hereditary, they were not allowed to pass on

their wealth and property to their descendent. So they were tempted to spend as much as quickly as they could. The prestigious personal establishment, once developed, could not be cut to size, and many mansabdars, finding it difficult to live within their means, overdrew from the royal treasury or borrowed heavily from other sources. All this ultimately resulted in the deterioration of character and martial qualities of the mansabdars. Their demoralization adversely affected the discipline and standard of efficiency of their military contingents.

Under the later Mughals, the mansabdari system began to lose its true characteristics. The discrepancy between the actual number of the swar maintained and numbers that a mansabdar was expected to maintain, increased. For example, during shahjahan's reign, a mansabdar holding a jagir in the same suba in which he was serving was to bring one-third of the swar rank to the muster; if his jagir was in a different suba then he was to bring only one-forth of his swar for the muster; and if he served in balka and Badakshan, then he was to bring inly one-fifth of his swar for the minister. By Shahjahan's time, the swar rank could even exceed the zat rank. Under Aurangzeb, the mansabdars could be paid either in cash or by the grants of jangirs. If more than half the salary was paid in cash it was called naqdi; if more than half of it was in form of Jagir, then it was called jagirdari; and a different set of rules guarded their interests.

While the value of jagir increased on paper, the actual income of the mansabdars remained the same. The service obligations were reduced as a consequence and they were paid for the number of months that they rendered services. The princes were the only one who were paid for the number of the months that they rendered service. The princes were the only only ones who were paid for the number of the minths that they rendered service. The princes were the only one who were paid salaries for

twelve months; all the mansabdars were paid for a period of three to eight months; all the mansabdars were paid salaries for twelve months, though, in exceptional cases, this could be extended to eleven months. When the empire was involved in continous walfare against the Rajputs and Marathas during Aurangzeb's reign, the mansabdars were allowed to maintain a large contigent than was warranted by their swar rank. As a result of the various discrepancies that crept in, the mansabdari system proved cumbersome and untenable. It is pertinent to mention here that during the reign of Akbar rebellions perpetually harassed him. Indeed a systematic survey of there revolts as related by his court historian abul fazl in his Akbarnama shows that there were no less than hundred and forty five such incidents. That is almost every fourth month on an average, emperor in the course of all his fifty years of rule was required to dispatch forces of make some alternative arrangement in order to restore peace in the affected area. The suppression of revolts therefore must have been one of the chief items on the imperial agenda of the annual scheme.[15]

Out of the above 144 revolts thirty were raised by the princes or high graded Umara of the realm, lighty by the leader's of the distant provinces beginning immediately after their annexation, twenty eight by the Hindu Zamindars and six were by miscellaneous groups of minor significance.[16]

Though most of the rebellions were conducted individually by one leader there are occasions when confederacies were formed for simple purpose of combining forces against the emperor.[17]

Akbar not with standing his youth had so skillfully handeled them that soon after the end of that period they had begun to identify themselves completely with the state.[18] It would seem that it was only after ensuring their full support that the emperor had

launched upon a programme of conquest of large sized farther off provinces(that is after 1572). This hard end too could be achieved only with the unflinching loyalty of his mansabdars. Who now viewed with each other in rendering sacrifice, in suffering ordeals, in exposing and even giving up their lives for their sovereign.[19]

In fact the spirit of rebelliousness amongst the umara so widespread around the first decade of the reign was handled with such adroitness that it was reduced to a minimum after that period. Indeed, even in the three subsequent reigns they seldom raised the head of sedition.[20]

The Mughals succeeded fairly well where they found that overwhelming numbers and resources could crush the enemy, but when they came across wily foes like the maratha or guerrillas like the Pathan tribesmen, they found it difficult to deal with them. Then it was the determination of Akbar which could extract them out of difficulties.[21]

Toward the end of Akbar reign mansabdars and their follower's consumed 82 percent of the total annual budget of the empire for their pay allowances.[22] There were around two thousand mansabdar's at the time and between them they commended 1,50,000-2,00,000 cavalary men. The emperor personally commended a further seven thousand crack sowers plus eighty thousand infantry and gunners who together accounted for another 9 percent of the budget. In addition, according to Abul Fazl, the locally based zamindars could master a colossal 4.5 million retainers, mostely infantrymen. The Mughal empire whether bearing the character of a patrimonial bureaucracy' as per the administrative hierarchy or of 'a centralized autocracy as per the ranking system was essentially a coercive military machine.[23]

Military Organization of Mughal

The mughals had a sound military administration.[1] According to which three types of forces were maintained. Firstly, the contigents which every high official Hindu or muslim from the governor downwards had to maintain in accordance with the rank. This was a part of the regular standing army of the mughal empire, maintained for the general defense and security of the realm.

Secondly, the provincial army, which consisted of the contingents of minor zamindars, who were called upon to render service at the time of war.

The third group of local or provincial forces consisted of cavalary, infantry and other arms mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari as the quotas allotted to the Sarkars and Mahals, stationed under Faujdars and petty Faujdars.

Cantonments were set up at strategic places, such as Attock, Lahore, Sialkot, Muttan, Jammu, Nagarkot, Man, Jaswan, Kahlur, Auler, Mankot, Jasrota and Lakhanpur. The Mansabdars were granted military jagirs in every corner of the province and they supplied contingents in the time of war. These jagirdars had greatly helped the mughal emperors and eventually developed into petty chiefs. Apart from the Jagirdar, there were Faujdars of the forts, who maintained peace and law and order in their respective localities, kept the roads free from robbers and thieves and enforced imperial regulations. They held a small force under them to perform police duties, to put down small rebellionis, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes and make demonstration of force to overcome opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor.

In wider perspective the mughal army had form important division :

- Infantry
- Artillery
- Covalary
- Navy

INFANTRY

The infantry consisted of Banduqchis or gunmen, Shamsherbaz or Swordmen Darbans or porters, khidmatyas or guards of the envirous of the imperial palace, Pehalwans or Wrestlers and Kahars or Doli-bearers. The emperor himself acted or the commander in chief and had a number of commander’s under him called sipahsalars.

The real infantry consisted of matchlockmen and the archers. Akbar maintained at the court a body of twelve thousand matchlockmen. Their administration was organized into a department with a registrar, a treasurer and a superintendent. These were four grades of minar officers who were paid salaries varying from two hundred and sixty dams to three hundred dams. The soldiers were divided into fifteen graders, three grades being classified as a class. Their salaries varied from one hundred and ten dams to two hundred and fifty dams. This provided ample room for promotion. The archers were some times more effective in the battle than the matchlockmen, because the matchlocks were still not very effective. They become heated after being fired and had to be left to cool before they could be loaded again. Some infantry was also given to the mansabdars as dakhill troops. A fourth of such contingents consisted of matchlockmen, the rest were archers.

CAVALARY

Cavalary consisted the most magnificent part of the mughak military system[2] Mansabdari system was nothing but on excellent organization of the cavalary.[3]

In Europe the horse rider army had distinctive place and in the same way mughal emperors also gave performance to cavalary. Due to mobility and their rapid action the cavalary was considered the most suitable organ for winning the war. Babar won the battle of Panipat with the help of 12000 cavalary. During the mughal period due to poor atmospheric condition the breed of Indian horse was not upto the mark and as a result the horses were brought from Kabul, Iran and Khuran. These horses were best in their activeness in comparison to Indian horses. Due to the galloping speed of their horses the mughals could cover at least 60 miles a day and easily they could attack on India and went back while the Rajputs could not chose them.[4]

There were two kinds of cavalary in mughal army :

- Silahdar or the soldiers who used to arrange their horses, weapons and other things themselves.
- Vagir or the soldiers who were provided horses and weapons by the state and they used light armour.

The Mansabdars, (rank-holders) were administrative officers, normally engaged in civil work, but each of them had to furnish the number of troopers of which he held the Mansab. The Mansabdari System, therefore, implies that civil officers were bound to render military service whenever they were called upon to do up so. On

paper there were as many as sixty-six grades of Mansabdars, but in actual practice only half the number (thirty-three). Of these the first three grades, ranging from 7,000 to 10,000 were reserved for members of the Royal family. Sometimes exceptions were made to this rule and men of extraordinary merits were admitted to the rank of 7,000. Rajah Todar Mal, Rajah Man Singh,, Mirza Shah Rukh and Quilch Khan, for instance, held the mansab of 7,000 each.The Mansabdars were paid regular salaries from State treasury and were required to pay the cost of their quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts. Their appointmnts, promotions, suspions and dismissals rested with the Emperor, who enforced his regulations in respect of Mansabdari System with great strictness. The Mansab was granted for personal ability and military merits. It was not hereditary. The sons of the Mansabdars had to start a new, independent of their father’s services or status. In connection with Mansabdari System there are two important terms, viz., Zat, and swar which have baffled the ingenuity of scholars in distinguishing between. Dr. Ishwari Prasad only approximates the truth when he says, ‘The Zat was the personal rank of Mansabdar, but to this was added a number of extra horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw extra allowance, and this was called his Sawar rank.’ Besides the Mansabdars, there were some other soldiers, generally foot, known as the Dakhlis and Ahadis. The former formed a fixed number of soldier incharge of the Mansabdars. They were paid by the state. The latter constituted a class by themselves. They were gentlemen soldiers, enlisted by the Emperor himself for his personal service.[5]

Abul Fazal in his Ain-i-Akbari mentions the salaries of troopers. Those who came from Central Asia or from Iran received a higher salary, in all probability to make it attractive for these foreigners to migrate to the subcontinent. The Muslim empires of this region always encouraged migration from Muslim lands to strengthen themselves. The foreigners were paid twenty-five rupees every month;

the Indian were given twenty rupees if employed in a military capacity. These salaries were subject to a deduction of five percent, which the mansabdars were entitled to charge as administrative commission for overhead charges. There was a further deduction of month's salary every year for paying the cost of the horse and other equipment given by state until the debt was discharged. The state charged a profit of fifty percent upon the price of the horse, but because the government purchased horses at advantageous prices, the trooper was said to have paid a fair price.

SALARY TABLE OF FIRST CLASS MANSABDARS DURING MUGHAL PERIOD

RANK	AKBAR (Rs.)	Shahjahan (Rs.)	Aurangzeb (Rs.)
10	1200	...	...
20	1620	1000	…
30	2100	1375	1000
40	2676	1750	1375
50	3000	…	1750
60	3612	2500	…
80	4920	3500	2500
100	8400	5000	3500
120	8940	…	5000
150	10500	…	…
200	11700	…	6250
250	13800	9500	7500
300	16800	10000	10000

350	17400	…	…
400	24000	12500	12500
500	30000	20000	20000
600	32240	23750	23750
700	52800	27500	27500
800	60000	31500	31200
900	92400	37500	37500
1000	98400	50000	50000
1000	110800	…	…
1250	…	…	…
1500	120000	…	75000
2000	144000	100000	100000
2500	168000	125000	125000
3000	204000	150000	150000
3500	228000	…	175000
4000	264000	200000	200000
4500	312300	…	225000
5000	360000	250000	250000
6000	…	300000	350000
7000	560000	350000	350000
8000	…	400000	….
9000	…	450000	…

The Mughals relied upon the systems of maintaining descriptive rolls of the soldiers and branding the horses. This first was a most effective method because

the officers were experts in describing the general appearance as well as the distinguishing marks of individuals; verification of troops through this process was called tashlhah. The tradition of registering descriptive rolls for certain police purposes has endured in the subcontinent and proves fairly effective even now, when, because of finger prints, the utility of the method has been diminishing for some time. The horses were branded every time they were mustard for formal inspection by the bakhshi; this was called dagh. The normal regulation was that the mansabdar should bring troops every year fir inspection and the repetition of the brand. Fine were imposed for delays in bringing horses to the muster. If a mansabdar made a delay, he would lose ten percent of his salary for the period of delay. It is, however, certain that were exceptions to this rule. The mansabdars posts in difficult areas could not possibly comply with these regulations; sometimes it was impolitic to require a mansabdar to leave his duties and to arrange for a muster.

ARTILLARY

Artillery was the specialty of Mughals. It was Babur who used artillery in India. From time to time he made advancement in his artillery. They established many establishment for artillery. It is said that Humayun had 750 cannons and Akbar considered cannons as the most important means for the defense of the state. Akbar successfully developed big cannons like Sherdahad, Fatehlaskar etc. for more comfort and better utility the cannons were given the shape of cart. It has been widely admitted by various scholars like captain B.N. Maliwal, Major Shaimlal, Major R.C. Kulshreshtha and Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma that Akbar's artillery with the exceptions of Turkey, there was no country which was so well equipped with artillery as mughal empire. Some of the cannons were very large

and required several elephants and a thousand cattle to transport one of them. The mughal artillery improved as the result of the contacts with Deccan as well as with Europeans.

Humayun had twenty-one pieces in the Battle of Qanauj; by now Sher Shah had the superiority in the artillery.[7] The Deccan had made greater advances in artillery than the north, because of the contact with the Turks and the Persians. The best artillerymen were recognized to be the Europeans who had by now settlements on the western coast. Adu-fadl recognizes the importance of artillery.[8] The guns were "carefully distributed over the entire empire, each province being supplied with the suitable variety of pieces". Artillery was considered necessary for 'The seize of fortresses and naval actions."

The artillery was in the charge of M-i-Atish or Daroga-i-Topkhana (supdt of ordnance department). There was Daroghah and mushrif, the former assisted the mir atish in his executive duties and latter was an accountant and record keeper; the Darogah was a mansabdar.

As far as the technique of mughal artillery is concerned we find that it was advanced. The artillery of mughals became the major force for them because Indian kings did not have cannons. In reality the horrible sound of the cannons of mughals terrifies the Indian soldiers.. Some important artillery of mughal period which were familiar among civilian and military

Sphare were a "Gazikhan", "Sher Dahad", "Dhum Dhum", "Fatehlaskar" and "Jahankusha".[9]

NAVY

The Mughal Empire had maintained naval force. The great Akbar maintained a well organized fleet in order to defend the coasts against the mughals of Arakan and Portuguese from mundalgarh. The naval departments was placed incharge of an officer called Amir-ul-Bahr, or Admiral whose four fold duties were to provide vessels capable of carrying elephants to appoint expert seamen skilled in diagnosing the temper of the sea; to guard the rivers and to superintend the imposition, the realization and remission of tools and duties.

Naval batteries were installed and sailors were recruited from the sea-faring tribes. Allahabad, Lahore, Kashmir, Bengal and Thatta (on bank of river Indus) were main ship building received proper attention during great mughals.

Apart from these parts of imperial army there was also an elephant corps. It was maintained in a high state efficiency. The elephants were organized into groups of ten, twenty or thirty commonly called Halqas or circles. They were mainly used to break the walls of the fort, terrorize the enemy and carrying in battle field.[10]

CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS

Like Rajputs mughals also gave stress on the construction of forts for strengthen the security of his empire. They constructed many forts on important places. The Red Fort of Delhi and Agra are still famous for their beauty, safety and strengthen.

The Mughals constructed forts at strategic places; the principles of military architecture were well understood. Advantage was invariably taken of a helpful

natural feature; where, as in the plains of Northern provinces, such features were not common, they were sometimes created artificially. Fortresses were generally placed near sources of water supply; a curve in a river was asset. The fort was put upon on eminence, and if one did not happen to be in the vicinity, an artificial mound was created by piling up earth; the area from which it was excavated created another feature, that of a marsh or lake, which was useful in defending the fort. Forts were generally surrounded with moats; outside the moats, sometimes a thick jungle of bamboo or some thorny bushes or trees was planted to delay the approach of a hostile force. If the climate was not favorable for this purpose, a veritable forest of stone blocks was planted to obstruct the cavalry. The gates were stout and barred with beams of wood or even of iro; there were sometimes several concentric walls; in any case the approach to the citadel was tortuous and long. The walls were machicolated and mounted with parapets. The forts were strong and capable of standing long sieges.

In addition to well built and strong forts there were smaller stone, brick and mud forts built for maintainance of the internal peace of the province, the details of which are mentioned below-

Sarkar of Bet Jullundur : There were elevent stone forts at Bhalon, Tatarpur, Jason Balakoti, Dadial, Dadah, Rajpurpattan, Siba, Kutlerhar, Kheunkhera, Gangot and there were three brick forts at Jullunder, Dasuya and Sultanpur. The total number of cavalary and infantry-stationed in these forts, including 48 other small stations, was 4155 and 79436 respectively.[11]

Sarkar of Bari Doad : There was a stone fort at Kangra and a brick fort at Pathankot. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts, including other 48 small stations, was 31055 and 129300, respectively.[12]

Sarkar of Rachna Doab : Stone forts were situated at Jammu and Mankot and brick forts at Eminabd,Patti Zafarwal and Chiniot. The total strength of cavalary and infantry stationed in these orts was 6795 and 99652, respectively.[13]

Chinhat (Jech) Doab : There were only two brick forts situated at khokhar (Gakhar) and Hazara. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed there, as well as 20 more small stations, was 3730 and 44200, respectively.[14]

Sind Sagar Doab : Stone forts were situated at Attock, Paharhala, Suburban, Kahwan, Mallot and Makhial. There was only one brick fort at Nandanpur, situsted on a hill. The total strength of the cavalry and infantry on these frontier forts and other 33 small stations was 8553 and 69700, respectively.[15]

SARKAR OF MULTAN

Bet Jullunder Doab : The names of the forts are not available, but the total strength of cavalry and infantry kept at the nine different stations was 1410 and 17100 respectively.[16]

Bari Doab : There were only two brick forts situated at Islampur and Multan town and the total strength of Cavalry and infantry at the 11 stations in this area was 775 and 14550 respectively.[17]

Rachna Doab : There were only five stations where 770 cavalry and 9500 infantry were kept.[18]

Sind Sagar Doab : There were only four stations where 220 cavalary and 2000 infantry were kept.[19]

Birum-i-Panjnad : There were only three brick forts, situated at Dudai, Mau and Marot. The total strength of cavalary and infantry maintained at 17 stations was 5800 and 57600 respectively.[20]

SARKAR OF DIPALPUR

Bet Jullunder Doab: There were five brick forts, situated at Pak Pattan, Dipalpur, Dhanakshah, Qabula and Qiampur Lakhi and the total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed here and five other forts were 2400 and 20400 respectively.[21]

Bari Doab : There was only one fort and the strength of cavalary and infantry stationed there, along with five other forts were 100 and 11400 respectively.[22]

Rechna Doab: The total strength of cavalry and infantry kept at the seven different stations was 610 and 6300 respectively.[23]

Birun-i- Panjnad : The total strength of cavalry and infantry maintained at six stations here was 1000 and 12300 respectively.[24]

SARKAR HISSAR-I- FIROZA

This Sarkar, which was sometimes attached to the Suba of Delhi, had Six brick forts at Atkera, Bhatner, Dhatrat, Fatehabad, Mukim and Hansi. The total strength of cavalry and infantry of this Sarkar at 26 different stations was 6875 and 60800 respectively.[25]

SARKAR OF SIRHIND

There were 12 brick forts in the Sarkar, situated at Pael, Tihara (on the Satraj), Thanesar, Khizrabad, Ropar, Sirhind, Sunam, Sadhura, Kaithal, Ghuram, Ludhiana and Machhiwara. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts, as also 20 more stations, was 9225 and 55700 respectively.[26]

During the reign of Akbar the local force consisted of 654480 cavalry and 426086 infantry.[27]

Discipline was the most important aspect of mughal army and the army chiefs of mughals used strategic offensive and tactical defensive very skillfully. They were so active that they reached the battle field before the arrival of enemy and wait for them in a perfect order.

It is remarkable to point out that the mughal military organization possessed certain weaknesses, which rendered it no match for the better kinds of contemporary European troops and ultimately brought about its decay. So long as Akbar was alive his personal vigour and martial qualities of the emperor maintained the army with all its short comings in a wonderful condition of efficiency, but under Jahangir and Shahjahan the inevitable deterioration set in and become so marked under Aurangzeb that Manneci asserted probably with justification, that 30000 good

European Soldiers could easily sweep away the authority of the mughal and occupy the whole empire. The mughal rulers inspected the troops from time to time with a view to ensure that the state was not defranded. The mughal armies were drawn up in a conventional order for battles. The ingenuity shown in earlier days by the mughal conquerors like Babar had gradually given place to stero typed strategy.

Undoubtedly keeping with the requirements of the time the mughals maintained a strong military force. This was essential both for the attainment of the ambitions of carving. Out an extensive empire as well as retention of control over the territory brought under actual control.[28] It was therefore necessary for the mughal rulers to raise a large army and keep it in a state of perfect readiness. This work was first initiated by Akbar while his successors kept the reformed Machinery intact making only a few changes here and there.[29]

Frankly speaking, mughals adopted whatever they thought was useful to them. They were circumscribed by their confidence in their resources and power. They failed to realize the danger of an expanding Europe. They do not seem to have awakened to the perilons important of the problem posed by an aggressive sea power establishing a hold on the sea washing the shores of their dominons. However, it has to be conceded that so long as Mughals remained strong, they were capable of dealing with the western intruders with the empire. Alamgir I taught the English a good lesson which led them to forget for some time their dreams of an Indian Empire. Earlier Shahjahan had dealt effectively with the Portuguese pirates in Bengal despite the difficulty of the delta terrain for the land forces. The mughal empire was sufficiently strong to deal with the smaller states within the sub continent and to quell rebellions if they did not become general conflagrations.

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FOOT PRINTS OF IMPORTANT BATTLES

The general principles of war and battles in their basic truth are the same in ancient medieval a modern age, namely how to get at the enemy's armed force, crush it and thus destroy that peoples will to continue the war, civilization changes with time and weapons of war change with advancing civilization. But wars are always decided by three cordial factors :

- The terrain for both strategy and tactics.
- The character band mental development (miscalled race) of one people compared with their opponents.
- The difference in arms and equipments between the two sides. This last included organization and trained leadership.

No, doubt, the genius of " heaven born general " can overcome many of the difficulties in these respects, but such geniuses are a rare gift of fortune to a nation and we cannot normally count on them.

A look at the map of India will at once explain to us how geography has laid down some inexorable laws for the time and manner of conducting military operation in our country.

Thus Nature has cut the Deccan up into many small isolated compartments, each with poor resources and difficulty of communication with its neighbors. Hence, invading armies are slowed down in their march in such a terrain and usually starved out even when they have penetrated to any of these nooks.

These Deccan hill ranges, particularly the Sahyadri are often crowned by lofty forts, towering above the lowlands on some cliff with steep scarped sides and artesian water supply on the flat top or sides. These forts are Nature's gifts to which the people can retire for safety when defeated in a pitched battle in the plain below. From these shelters nothing could expel them before modern artillery, if only they had laid in provisions or could smuggle in food at night by the back door.

Therefore, the North Indian plains have been generally the seats of vast empires, under monarchs claiming to be universal suzerains and reducing their neighbors to feudatory vassalage. The Deccan, on the contrary, except for a few short periods, has been divided into small isolated kingdoms, each confined to its own corner and unable to present any united opposition to a foreign invader. Vast cavalary forces can easily sweep- as they have done age after age in the past-through the green belt from the khaibar pass via Delhi to Bengals capital without meeting with any natural dostacle, if the forts on the way are by passed. In these plains empires have fought empires and India's fate has been decided by one single gigantic clash of arms.

The physical geography of India has also dictated the campaigning season. There can be no movement during the three months of rain, 15th june to 15th September. The rivers are then in high flood, the roads are turned into mud pools and the fields are submerged, with the higher villages standing up like islands surrounded by a sea of water.[2]

Every year when the rainy season ends with the month of September, the river levels falls and the crops ripen, the invasion begins. Ancient Hindu tradition, followed by the Marathas, almost to our own days-only obeys geography when it prescribed the Dasahara day, earlier in October as the auspicious time for the king to set out on

conquest, dig-vijaya. In the month or so the crops are being harvested, so that the invaders can live off the country without burdening themselves with supplies.[3]

A force of practiced horsemen mounted on the superb horses of the Khurasani or Iraqi breed marching in a compact body of 8000 men(like the army that brought Babar to Delhi) or 24000 men(like Ahmad Shah Durrani's own troops at Panipat)- could make a rapid dash through the level green belt, skirting the foothold of the Himalayas and reach Delhi without a halt.

The Indian Infantry and even our Cavalary mounted on country- born small ponies could not come up quickely enough to bar the enemy's path and if they gave battle, they were hopelessly defeated bacause infantry cannot manoeuvre with the speed of cavalry; while mounted troops can at will avoid hand to hand fight with an enemy advantageously posted or in superior numbers or wheel round and attack some weak spot of the Indian line battle. The invader's superior mobility bewildered the Indians and frustrated their previously formed plan of operations; the cities lying behind the fighting front could not be defended against enemy forces that made a rapid detour round the main Indian Army facing the frontier.[4]

From military point of view Punjab has ever been the sword arm of India. It has also been the main channel through which the fine and brave soldiery, recruitment from beyond its frontiers, flowed into the Punjab. Without a complete domination of this province, no Mughal Emperor Could ever feel secure on the throne. Babar, the founder of Mughal of Mughal Empire of India, did not advance towards delhi till he had fully established his hold over this province. After its conquest, he entrusted it to his most capable general Mir Yunis Ali, so that his eastward advance be secured

against the North-West. The Punjab was the base from where he supported his future exploits and eastward expansion.

Humayun did not realize the importance of the Punjab, as is evident from the fact that he slept over the capture of this province by Mirza Kamran and he lost his hold on the Indian Empire within a decade. Had Mirza Kamran given this province to Humayun after the latters defeat at the hands of Sher Shah, Humayun would have retained at least a portion of the Indian Empire. The sur kings also attached great importance to this province and took maximum defensive measures to keep it free of danger from the north-west. When anarchy returned and the defensive measures slackned, Humayun easily re-occupied it in 1556.

Akbar rightly understood the strategic importance of this region and made Lahore the capital of his empire for fifteen years (1585-1598). During this period he waged a ruthless war against the turbulent Afghan tribes. Akbar succeeded in restoring order on the North wast Frontier on the strength of immense military power and resources . He also conquerd Kashmir during this period. During Akbar's region this province remained an arena of revolts, Bairam Khan, Mohammad hakim Mirza, the Gorkhas, the Rajput Rajas of Nagarkot (Kangra) and Ibrahim Husain Mirza of Kashmir, one after the other revolted against Mughal Authority. But all these revolts were crushed.

Punjab was strategically the most important province of the Mughal Empire. The total tribal region between Afghanistan and India, generally known as the North west frontier, formed part of the Mughal Empire and its control was always held by the strong governors of this province under the personal and immediate attention of the

Great Mughals. Keeping this province the strongest was essential for the Great Mughals for the following reasons :

- The Hindu-Koh range, which separates Central Asia from Southern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India, is very low in the north of Harat and permits a passage to an Invader from Iran and Central Asia to the Kabul Valley and thence to India.
- It was equally necessary for securing possession of the impregnable fortress of Qandhar, the first outpost of India's defense and a great center of trade, frequented by merchants from various parts of Asia.
- It was necessary to control the turbulent tribes such as the Yusufzias, the Khattaks, the Muhamonds, the Uzbegs and others. For operations against these tribes, the Punjab has ever been the base of the Indian and presumably now Pakistani forces.
- The plain of Panipat in South-East Punjab has been the scene of some of the most historic battles in Indian history. From the strategic background of Afghanistan, the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, Khaiber, Kurram, tochi and Gomal passes on to the Punjab plains; for, the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general, who may find the going rough on the south because of the deserts of Rajputana. Invading armies were forced to enter the ganges and Jamuna valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north- eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas.

Important battles that have made deep imprint on the socio-political and military arena of this countary were battle of Panipat I(1526); Battle of Khanwa (1527); Battle of panipat II (1556); and Battle of Halddighati (1576).

The Mughal armies were drawn up in a convential order for battles. The ingenuity shown in the earlier days by the Mughal conquerors like Babur had gradually given place to stereotyped strategy. In the front were the qarawal or skirmishers; at their back was the harawl or the vanguard. It was also called muqaddamat-u-I-jaish. To its right and left, jutting out well forward were two small wings placed in such a way that they might give support to the qarawal in case of need or act as a protection for the left and right wings of harawal, the bulk of which was stationed in the center behind the harawal was the qalb or the center of the main force. To the right and left of the qalb were the maimanah and the maisarah or the right and the left wings, also called rast of chap the qalb, the maimanah and the maisarah were sometimes called the ghol because this was considered to be the main section of the battle array. The general almost invariably took his position in the qalb. Behind the qalb was the rear guard, which also had the duty of guarding the camp. The ranks were kept in order by a small group of officers who carried the instructions of the general to other officers and kept an eye on the ranks so that they did not create confusion by acting in an undisciplined manner. In later days they came to be called nasaqchis or the maintainers of order.

First Battle of Panipat-1526

During 1192 to 1526 the first turki empire of North India passed through a course of conquest, advance and consolidation under its early rulers, but gradually it lost its vital energy and lapsed into stagnation and dissolution, at last yielding the throne to an Afghan immigrant clan. This periods differs in three respect from next epoch in our history which is called the Mughal Empire.

First the political connection between Delhi and Afghanistan was lost and recruits could no longer be regularly drawn from that country across the frontier passed by the Indian government.

Secondly baronial rebellion weakened the Central government, except under a few strong rulers.
Thirdly fire arms were unknown to them.

Then for 212 years from 1526 to 1738 northern India enjoyed a stable Centralized Govt. which spread over a part of Deccan also and kept the feudal vassals under control. It used fire arms in war and began to import European arts, techniques and teacher's and held Afghanistan under its sway.

The Mughal Empire of Delhi was founded by Zahiruddin Babar, Sixth in the line of descent from Timur. To understand Babar's army and tactics we must study those of Timur and to understand military power aright, we must go back to the war machine of Zengiskhan (chingis) who was babar's ancestor in the front line.

Each improved upon the organization and technique of his predeccor, with certain necessary modifications. For instance, Timur had much more civilized tools than Zengis and Babar had a very smaller army and territorial resources than Timur, which were compensated for by his possession of a novel instrument of wonderful efficiency, namely fire-arms, unknown to his opponents. Zengis Khan(1154-1227 A.D.), showed his genius by uniting under one banner countless hordes of savage nomads,-Tartars(also called Mongols), Turks and other Scythian races. He imposed iron discipline over this miscellaneous multitude-totaling seven lakhs of armed men, according to the chroniclers. His success was due to his strict organization, unfailing

choice of able lieutenants and his wise policy of allowing complete religious toleration to every creed in his camp. No other general in history has shown such power of making so many diverse tribes and sects unite in forming one compact military machine.

His military organization was based on five principles :- First, the regular division of troops into compact bands of regiments (Turki word Kushun, normally one thousand), and brigades (Turki word Tuman, normally ten thousand), each under a head and duly graded. Secondly, the enforcement of strict discipline by constant inspection and rithless punishment of offenders. Thirdly, unfailing selection of able lieutenants, each of whom could independently command a distant detachment, while co-ordinating with the general plan of the campaign. Fourthly, the creation of a corps d'elite of the royal guards as the most efficient striking force. And fifthly, the development of speed of movement, which was almost incredible in the case of such vast numbers in that age of barbarism.[12]

"In the utterances ascribed to him, Chingis only emphasized his services to the establishment of order and discipline among his people and in the army. . . Under Chingis Khan order was created everywhere and to each(man, woman and child) his position was allotted-thus replacing the disobedience prevailing everywhere before his time."[13]

"Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honour of his companions." " Of special importance for the military success of the Mongols was the creation of a numerous bodyguard(whose number reached 10,000 in 1206), with well- defined rules of their conduct in the Khan's camp. Discipline was maintained with the greatest strictness. A valuable means of

maintaining discipline and of training and testing the soldiers, was the hunting expeditions organized on a great scale, in which all the prescriptions of military discipline were observed with the same exactness as in actual warfare." " Chingis, when Emperor was able to surround himself with a narrower circle of men from among his vassals, on whom he could rely as upon himself."[14] Zengis Khan thus conquered the eastern world from the Adriatic to the Yellow Sea and planted Tartar rule over Russia for two centuries.

The first battle of Panipat was preceded by some preminary attempts at the conquest of India. The preliminary attempts convinced him that he could not conquer India without strengthening his base at Qandhar. The political condition of India on the eve of Babar's invasion was terribly deplorable. Northern India was seething with discontent and dissensious. Sikandar Lodhi a capable ruler had died in 1517 A.D. and his stupid son, Ibrahim Lodhi, had mounted the throne of Delhi. His misgovernment and arrogant behaviour had estranged his own kith and kin. His ill-treatement had disgusted the Afghan nobles who formed secret conspiracies against him. Bengal, Jaunpur, malwa and Gujarat and other outlying provinces had all become independent. The eastern districts of Oudh and Bihar had taken up arms against him. Daulat Khan Lodhi, the governor of the Punjab and Ala-ud-din, uncle of Ibrahim, revolted against the ruling prince and invited Babar to relieve India of the Tyrant. Rana Sanghram, or Rana Sangha as he is known in history, also made overtures to the king of Kabul and asked him to intervene.

Babar invasion of India was well timed. India was weak and divided in those days. The first battle of Panipat was fought between babar and Ibrahim Lodhi on April 21,1526 on the plains of Panipat, the historic site where the throne of India has been thrice won. Babar father Umer Sheikh Mirza was the ruler of Fargana. At the time

of his father's death Babar was Just eleven years old. After the death of his father he was expelled from the state. After a long struggle Babar regained his lost stste. In 1497 he took Samarkand under his control but in between he lost fargana. After sometime he also lost Samarkand. However with the help of his small army he got Kabul in 1504. It was India for which Babar always dreamed of. He looked India at his focal point and in 1525 he attacked and took Lahore under his control. After winning Lahore he retreated and began to prepare to conquer Delhi.

Ibrahim Lodhi ruling over Delhi and state was at the verge of decline. Lodhi had a competent army, yet with his rude behavior he made many chiefs unhappy and revengeful. In the later part of sixteenth century the whole India was divided into small states and all the rulers used to fight over trival matters.

Babar started from Kabul in Nov. 1525 to attack on India through Khaibar pass. He crossed the Indus and Jhelum river on Dec.24, 1525 Then passing through chinav river he reached Siyalcot on December 29. It is remarkable to point out that Babar crossed the huge river with the help of boats and by swimming. They made temporary bridges with the help boats and got their artillery crossed. Before doing such activities Babar always sent his spies to arrange the things.

Babur left a small company of soldiers on border of Lahore. King of Delhi was busy in defense from the outside attacks. Babur stayed in siyalcot and analyzed the situation. He sent his official and two army chiefs to study and examine the whole situation. He ordered his soldiers to stay till he himself would cross the Vyas river. On dec.30, Babur reached Kalanaur via Parasrup. He attacked Kalanaur on Jan.5,1526 and took it under his control. The ferocious speed and terrified attack of

the army of Babur horrified the army of Sudedar Daulat Khan and the soldiers of subedar Daulat Khan left the field very fastly.

After winning Milbat Babar left for Delhi via Ropar and Karnal. The intelligence of Babar was very reliable. He always made his strategy after getting accurate information in advance. Babur's spies informed him that two company of soldiers moved forward to contain Babar one in control of Ibrahim Lodhi and another under command of Hamid Khan from Hisar Firoja. In order to stop Hamid Khan sent his son Humayun to attack on Hamid Khan. Finally Humayun defeated Hamid Khan and took Hisar under his control.

On march 5, Babur reached Shahabad. In order to know about the intentions and strategy of the enemy Babur sent his spies. Babur himself prepared for the battle and via Yamuna river he left for South Delhi. The victory over Delhi was typical and to make his dream true Babur reached near the battle field of Panipat on April21, 1526.

The Army of Babur

Babar's strength in this battle is not definitely in his memories. The court Historian of Akbar says that it was 12,000 Cavalry, but that must have been the number of his choice Turkish horse men or first class troops. To these we must add his foot musketeers and Indian allies as well as the hordes of Afghan and Turkey adventures drawn to his standard by the lure of gold, Lt. Col. Wolseley Haiq estimates Babar's force in this battle at 25000.[17] In this way Cavalry, artillery and gunners formed important composition of the Babar army. It is pertinent to mention here that on Babar's side there were fine arms an absolutely new weapons in North Indian Warfare.[18] The Babar army of bow and arrow was most crucial and soldier's

were trained in art of war in such a way that they could fight anytime anywhere no matter whether it is day or night.

The Army of Ibrahim Lodhi

The army of Ibrahim was more powerful than the army of Babar. There were 10,000 soldiers and 1000 Elephants. But in comparison to Babar the soldier's of Ibrahim were inefficient, untrained and short-sighted. There were Cavalry, infantry and Elephant corps but they did not have healthy relationship with the king. It is said that most of the Chiefs were unhappy and in the beginning scattered Gold coins and diamonds among his soldiers but still they could not be motivated or encouraged.

Strategy of Babar

After analyzing the strength of the army of his opponent Babar decided to follow a decisive strategy in war. He tried his best to harmonise the artillery and trained Cavalry. The great hurdle in his way was to stop the huge army of Ibrahim Lodhi. Having prepared for the war the army of Babar reached near the battlefield of Panipat. The right flank of the army was completely safe due to buildings and left side took the help of ditches and trenches and cut down trees. After securing the left and right flank of his army Babar settled his central part with the help of carts in such a way that the riders could go forward to attack on the enemy.

During April 12 to April 19 both the armies were in front of each other. Babar wanted that Ibrahim should have attacked first. In order to make Ibrahim aggressive Babar sent his patrolling party to instigate the enemy but did not attack on them. Then Babar without waiting for a long time Babar keeping principle of initiative in

his hand sent around five thousand of his fighting force to attack the enemy. Unfortunately they lost their way due to darkness and they found them just near the camp of the enemy in the morning. In this way Babar succeeded in his tactical approach against Ibrahim Lodhi. Seeing the gravity of the situation in the light of Babar initiative Ibrahim Lodhi ordered his army to expand with the possibility of attack.

On April 19 it became clear that Babar's decision of April 18 worked and the soldiers of Ibrahim began to move forward. Under the prevailing situation Babar also ordered his soldiers to attack on the enemy.

Babar divided his army into five groups:

- Front Group (Haraval) includes the cannons and7 best soldiers.
- Right Group(barangarh)
- Left Group(Jarangarh)
- Central Group(Kul and Ghol) led by Babar itself
- Rear Group(Chandaval)

Besides these five major groups there were some small groups as follows:

- Rider Bowmen (Karaval). This group was in front of the advance group. This group was not a hurdle in the activities of the front group. Under pressing situation this group could be sent behind the front group.
- Active Reserve Group (Iltmish) this was a small group. It was arranged on the left and right side of the middle group. This group was to use the weak group during the battle action.
- Right Cavalry (Taulkama) This group was supposed to attack on the flanks of the enemy from the rear.

- A small group was left in a long distance. Who was responsible to defend the camps.

The forward movement of Ibrahims made it clear that it was becoming heavy on the right side of Babar’s army.

In the beginning Ibrahim moved fastly but as and when he saw the movement of the front part of Babar’s army he stopped his forward movement. In this way Ibrahim lost the opportunity to attack on the enemy. Meanwhile Babar got an opportunity to muster up the courage of his army. During the time rear group of Ibrahim army was misleaded.

Babar studied the situation strategically and felt that right group may face trouble so that he sent the reserve battalion to help the right group of his army. As soon as the Afghan army was coming forward the front group of Babar started turning in deep formation. In this situation Ibharim found himself confused and he could not decide whether to attack or not to attack. Babar took the advantage of Ibharim’s dilemma and other his army’s right and left flank to attack on the enemy from rear. Right and left flank started to move forward and from the centre cannons began to fire. As a result the soldiers of Ibrahim retreated and started crushing their own soldiers. Ibrahim Lodhi died in the battle field.

First battle of Panipat: Lessons and Fallout

- The battle of Panipat was the decisive battle in the history as it laid the foundation stone of Mughal Empire for coming centuries.

- It was the first battle in the history of India when gun powder was used in the form of cannons & guns.
- The army of Ibrahim Lodhi found himself unable to face cannons and guns. Due to heavy fires soldiers lost their hearts. J.F.C. fuller has rightly pointed out that numbers of soldiers can not surpass the superior weapon and grand tactics.
- The leadership of Babar was far better than Ibrahim Lodhi, Otherwise how could he win such a great battle with small number of soldiers.
- Mobility is dynamic principle of war. Ferocity of Babar army was far better than Lodhi.
- Babar had opted new tactics known as "Tulgama" and his skillful strategy had made his army safe in adverse circumstance.
- Babar coordinates his cavalry and cannons in such a way that it became remarkable and unparallel. Babar won the battle with the help of intellectual leadership and new tactics.

In the battle that followed Ibrahim Lodhi fell fighting on the field and his army was routed. Delhi and Agra fell into the hands of invaders who hailed as the emperor of India by the people of the capital cities. On Friday 22 April 1526 the public prayer was said in capital mosque at Delhi in the name of new emperor. The first battle of Panipat put an end to the Afghan rule and introduced the mughal rule instead. It crowned the career of Babar and gave India a series of capable rulers.

BATTLE OF KHANWA-1527

The battle of khanwa was the supreme test of Babar's generalship. His soldiers marched to it disheartened by defeat in patrol actions, terrified by stories of

Rajput Valour and astrologer's predictions of adverse stars, and weakened by the desertion of timid allies. Facing him was an enemy more than double of his own numbers and flushed with unbroken success. If he was defeated or even forced to retreat after a drawn fight, the shock of his failure would shelter his new born empire of Delhi to pieces. But he had one weapon which the Rajputs could not match, these were his mortars and matchlocks which were then absolutely unknown in northern India. Above all shown his military genius and experience of war earned by incessant fights since the age of twelve on the Rajput side was valour no doubt, but no generalship, no brain in directing staff, no cohesion of the parts.[24]

After winning the battle of Panipat the founder of mughal empire Babar had the privilege of becoming the king of Delhi and Agra but still he had a deep longing for the whole India. The Rajputs of Rajasthan particularly Sangram Singh and Rana Sanga were the great hurdle for hi. Babar established Agra is his capital and took possession of the fort of Byana.[25] This act irritated Rana Sanga and with the help of many Rajputs kings and muslim heads he forced the mughals to leave the fort. When Babar came to know about the incident he escorted his force to fight the battle on Feb16, 1527 he reached near sikri and pitched the tents on the other hand Rana Sanga also forwarded for the fight but mistakably he staged in Ghurawar for month and during this time Babar got the opportunity to increase his strength and make an artificial fort.

Before the battle of khanwa many encounters took place between the patrolling parties of both sides. In all these encounters Rajput dominated the battle and this loosened the confidence of the army of Babar. Babar was a skillful king, he gathered his soldiers and gave them many temptations.[26] He distributed all his gold and silver coins among the soldiers. He made a speech full of oratory "My bold soldiers what

will we show or say to God in this crucial period that the territory if Hindu slipped through< no< we will not retreat. If we win this battle we will be known as Gajis or we will die as martyrs. As a result all the soldiers were filled with a fresh energy and the battle of khanwa took place on March 16, 1527.[27]

COMPARITIVE STRENGTH

- **The Army of Rana Sanga :** In the army of Rana Sanga the number of soldiers were more than the army of babar. According to Major David there were one lakh soldiers including one thousand elephants.
- **The Army of Babar :** Just a year back Babar has proved her superiority in battle of Panipat. In this Battle babar deployed his various fighting arms like a battle of Panipat. First the baggage carts of army, 1000 in numbers were placed one line in front about 40 feet apart but tied together in the Turki fashion with thougs cut out of raw hide (for wants of iron chains). Between every two carts, five or six movable shields (in Europe war called mantlets), fixed to wheel tripods, were placed, behind which the musketeers sheltered when firing. In the line of linked carts, opening were left at the distances of an arrows flight (about 60yards) for a hundred horsemen to sally out.

Second Battle of Panipat (1556)

Shershah Suri had expelled babar’s son Humayun out of India but within ten years of his death his descendants lost their empire through family quarrels and baronial

rebellions. The last of the Sur Kings Mubariz Khan (Shershsh Nephew) entitled Muhammad Adil Shah (popularly Called Adili) was entirely devoid of energy and capacity and devoted himself solely to the pursuit of pleasure. But his government gained unwanted strength from his Hindu Minister hemu Bhargav.

This men was a Gaur Brahmin. Though this caste had supplied priests to The Hindu kings of yore, Hemu's own family was poor and he made his way up in the Sur royal service by his conscious ability for war and civil administration alike. His honesty and devotion to the interests of the State and his strictness in putting down slack and corrupt public savants antagonized the degenerate old official nobility and his memory has been blackened by their false aspersions and the partisan writings of Akbar's court flatterers. Himu, in addition to being a highly efficient civil administrator, was also the best military genius on the Afghan side after Sher Shah's death, far sighted in his strategic plans, keen-eyed and quick in his tactical decisions, cool in holding his strength in reserve and fearless of danger in encouraging his troops by his personal example. In the internecine wars of the Afghans, he had fought 22 battles with the domestic enemies of his master and had been victorious in all of them.

When Humayun returned from his exile in Persia and recovered Delhi and Agra (23rd july, 1555), Hemu marched from the eastern provinces with a large army to recover these royal cities, leaving his master Adili in Chunar fort. Soon afterwards, Humayun died in Delhi on 26th January, 1556.

At the advance of Hemu, Humayun's governor of Agra evacuated that city and fled of Delhi. In Pursuit of him, Hemu reached Tughlaqabad, a village five miles cast of the Quthab Minar. Here Tardi Beg, the Mughal governor of Delhi came out and gave

battle on 7th October, against tremendous odds, as Hemu was reported to be leading 1000 elephants 50000 horses, 51 cannon and 500 falconets.

The wars of disaster at Tughlaqabad reached the young Akbar at jalandhar and he at once set out with all his forces to recover Delhi. The decisive battle was fought on 5 th Nov. 1556 about four miles north wast of the scence of Babar's victory. Hence it is called second battle of Panipat.

It was fortunate for the mughal dynasty that the young emperor Akbar had a powerful supporter and an excellent general and diplomat in Bairam Khan who served his master and secured his position till he attained the age of discretion. The first important thing that he was required to do as regent was to fight against Hemu, who was advancing against the Mughal Emperor at the head of a huge arny. Almost all the officers of the Mughal army advised the Emperor to retreat to Kabul, but Bairam Khan suuessfully resisted such a pusillanimous step as would have spoiled the prospects of the Mughal Dynasty. Forthwith he ordered the immediate arrest and execution of Tardi Beg on a charge of misconduct in the face of the enemy and himself marched out to oppose Hemu. Fortune favoured the resolute Mughal general from the outset. An advance-guard had already handicapped Hemu by capturing the whole park of his artillery. The two armies , each commanded by a military genius of no mean merit, came to severe blows at the memorable plain of Panipat. Hemu made a furious charge of his elephants and soon threw the left wing of the Mughal army into confusion and there was considerable consternation in the Mughal Camp. The tide of victory turned at once in favour of he Mughals when, in the thick of fight, Hemu was hit in his eye with an arrow and rendered unconscious. The fall of the leader from his elephant decided the fate of the battle. The mughals won the day. Hemu, the hero and the hope of the Hindus, was taken prisoner and brought before

the emperor. Bairam Khan was anxious to see the young emperor slaying a most formid able enemy, but the chivalrous Shahnshah refused to do so, saying that it was unchivalrous to stay a fallen for. There upon Bairam Khan took out his own sword and slew Hemu. Hemu defeat was sheer an accident whereas Akbar's victory was bestoved by God.[31] Five thousand dead ware counted on the field and many more were slain when fleeing.[32]

Second battle of Panipat : Lessons and Fallout

The victory in second battle of Panipat removed the most powerful opponents of Akbar. Hemu was badly defeated and slain. His army was ruthlessly routed. A large booty, including a big treasure and 1500 elephant fell into the hands of victorious army. Delhi, agra and the neighboring districts were occupied. The highway was prepared for further conquests. The hopes of Hindu to establish their own rule in India were dasged to the ground. The prestige of the Mughal arm and army was established once again and Akbar was hailed as the emperor of greater India. In this way Afghan rule came to an end mughal began to rule in India.

IV Battle of Haldighati

In order to enlarge his kingdom in the whole India Akbar tried his best. With the help of his large army and magnificent strategy he succeeded in his attempt to a great extent. The key to his success was the harmony between Hindu & Muslims. Akbar knew it well that without the help of he would not be able to establish a muslim kingdom.[33] The great hurdle in this way was the powerful Rajputs , but by giving them higher posts and establishing relations with them he succeeded to bring

them under his control. Only the sisodia Rajputs of Mewar rejected the posts and relation with Akbar due to self respect.

The most interesting episode in the military career of Akbar is the fight with Rana Pratap of Mewar which has been immortalized by ballads of the Rajput bards and the Annals and antiquitices of Rajasthan by James Tode. The Rajput had been the chief Bulwark of Hinduism against the intrusion of Islam in India. Most of the Pathan rulers had to fight against the Rajputs, who though often defeated, again asserted their independence. Whenever any opportunity arose Akbar decided to wim them over by matrimonial alliances. The first fruit of that policy was Akbar's marriage with the daughter of Rana Ambar (Jaipur) and Raja Bharmal, and as a result there of both Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, son and grandson, respectively of those rulers were "enrolled amongst the nobility and received high commands". There were two other marriage alliance of that nature (with Bikaner and Jaisalmer) with similar obligations. This policy endeared Akbar to the Rajput princes, who, became the strongest champion of Mughal Empire. Man Singh and Jaswant Singh, for example, may be said to have been the pillars of the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar and Aurangzeb. But the new policy of Akbar failed in case of Mewar, the premier state in Rajputana, whose rulers prided themselves as the sisodiyas and descendents of the famous, almost legendry hero Bappa Rawal.[34]

The king Rana Pratap preferred death than slavery of Akbar. At last Akbar decided to declare war against them. In the beginning the mughal army took Mewar and Chittor under their contral. Rana Pratap left Chittor and took shelter in the forest of Kumbhalgarh in Gokundnagar. In the mean time Akbar was preparing for war on Gujrat but Rana Pratap's army was firmly stayed in the way and it had created a hurdle in the way to Gujrat. To dismantle this hurdle Akbar sent his army in the

command of Raja Man Singh strategically prepared his soldiers to wage war in Mandalgarh. As soon as Rana Pratap came to know about the preparations of Mughal he left the fort of Kumbhalgarh and came out safe hilly place known as Lohsiagh. Man Singh also move forward toward Banas river and pitched the tents in the field of Haldighati, where a terrible battle was fought between Maharana Pratap and Mughals on June 18, 1576. Due to yellow color of the soil this battle field was named Haldighati.

Army of Mughal & Rajput

The mughal army comprised ten thousand including four thousand Kachwaha Rajput, one thousand various Hindu soldiers and five thousand Muslims(Turks of Asia, Uzveg, Kazzam, Saiyyads and Shekh Jade of Fatehpursikri). Besides there were gunners and elephants. This army was escorted by Raja Man Singh.

In the army of Rana Pratap there were four thousand soldiers, four hundred archeror of Bhell community and elephants

The Battle Strategy

The strategy of mughal army was according to custum. In the front there were guerilla rider soldiers, and they were followed by gunners soldiers. Behind them there were vanguard centre and rear groups, left and right groups were in flanks. In the exetreme rear there was the reserved group called Iltmis. All the groups had their separate commanders: Sayyad Hamis, Asaf Ali, Lunkus and Mulla Qazi. The middle was commanded by Raja Man Singh himself and Madho Singh was the commander of the rear group.

Tactical Expansions of Rana Pratap Army

In the army of Rana Pratap there were eight hundred soldiers in the front and behind it were the three customary groups: Left, right and center.The center was commanded by Rana Pratap. The front was Commanded by Ramdas Rathore and right was commanded by Bhamashah and left by Mana. In the last there were Bheels with their bows and arrow . Bheels were expert in Guerilla war. Rana Pratap had no reserve group in the army and in comparison to Mughal army his army strength was numerically small.

Details of Battle

- On 18 June the Rajput soldiers attacked on mughals with grat force and very soon they dispersed the front and left group by cutting them into Pisces. But in order to make their attack more powerful the soldier's of Rana came out from hills and it was their terrible mistake and they had to pay it for a heavy price.
- By observing the terrible condition of his front and left group Man Singh ordered his reserve for the help of front soldiers and this created a positive creativity in the Mughal soldier.

Meanwhile a rumour that Akbar himself was coming with huge army to support Man Singh in the battle soared the confidence of mughal soldiers.

- Rna Pratap did not lose hesrt and reached near Man Sigh. A terrible battle began between sisodia Rajputs and mughal soldiers. Rana attacked powerfully on Man Singh with his spear but it struck the driver of elephant (Mahawat) of

Raja Man Singh. All the mughal soldiers encircled Rana Pratap seeing him in danger a patriot sardar jhala wearing coronet of Rana Pratap emerged and declared himself as Rana Pratap. At this movement Rana Pratap escaped with the help of his friend and Sardar Jhala himself to save Rana Pratap. Sardar Jhala had shown Himalayan height of layality that is rarest of rare in medieval history of India.

Battle of Haldighati: Lessons & Fallout

In the battle of Haldighati mughal army won but did not became able to execute the plan. Their target was to capture Rana Pratap but Rana escaped easily and opposed Akbar till his last breadth ans the battle remained undecisive.

The decision of Rana Pratap to come out from hills was the real cause to lose the battle. If they had fought guerilla tactics of hit and run based on mobility and surprise they would have succeeded in their attempts because the number of mughal soldiers were much higher than Rajputs. Guerilla warfare is the best strategy of weak against strong.

The reserved army played a crucial role in the victory of mughals. Rajput had not reserve. In the battle Rana Pratap became aggressive and offensive and reached near Man Singh however his soldiers remained behind. So, without right direction and well calculated strstegy they not fight well.

Inspiteof the victory Man Singh lost the battle because Rana Pratap was out of reach and he became famous as a warrior, self respected and strange patriot unparallel in the annals of Indian history.

The story of pratap's bravery, heroism, and untold sufferings for the cause of liberation of his kingdom has become almost proverbial, even today no name is held in great honour in Rajaputana than that of the brave Pratap. Flying from hill to hill before the superior forces of the mughals he suffered extreme want and privation together with his wife and children but still his brave heart refused to yield.

His gallantry and patriotism were at last rewarded and he recovered most of his possessions before his death in 1597. But he could not never recover chittor the far famed capital of his ancestors. He had vowed that he would take food only on a leaf and sleep on a straw bed, until he recovered chitor. He kept his vow till his death, and during the last year of his life, he often kept gazing at chittor from a neighbouring hill, while tears rolled down his cheeks. It is fair to add that Akbar fully appreciated the heroism and patriotism of his mighty opponent and paid glowing tributes to his character.[36]

It should be noted, however that Akbar gave evidence of his appreciated of Rajput heroism by placing the statues of jaimal and fatta at the fort of Agra.[37]

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CONCLUSION

The mughal rule is distinguished by the establishment of a state government and other social and cultural activities. It will be evident from study of my thesis that the Mughal Empire was exceedingly large, embracing many great proviences that its ruler possess vast wealth and infinite power, as regards both the number and strength of his troops and the amplitude of his military resources.

The mughal were able to create of the position and functions of the emperor in popular mind, an image which stands out clearly not only in historical and other literature of the period, but also in Folklore which exists even today in the form of popular stories, narrated in the villages of the areas that constituted the mughal's vast dominions when his power had not declined. The emperor was looked upon as the father of the people whose function it was to protect the weak and avenge the persecuted.

It is true that sometimes there were rebellions that had to be punished and there wars of conquest reprisal, put these did not succeed in obliterating the image among the large mass of people.

During this period when media of mass publicity were not available to the government, the creation of the favourable image could be achieved only through sustained solid effort and the constant pursuit of benevolent and just policies. There was hardly ever an occasion when instructions were issued to subordinate officials that the generous feelings of the emperor were not reiterated.

In all books dealing with administration one finds a continuously theme of emphasis upon a just and good administration. The basic book of mughal administration the Ain-i-Akbari reflects that there are innumerable farmers and other documents scattered all over the subcontinent and also preserved in various collectins of the world where the anxiety of the mughal government to dispense justice and look after the interest of the people finds unchanging expression.

Undoubtedly the evidence in favour of lovable character of the mughal government is overwhelming, no same monarch would again and again express his desire to act as father of his people and direct his servants to be mindful of the interests of the population, if he were not sincerely benevolent, because otherwise he would be drawing attention to his own short comings and lack of public spirit.

The Mughal rulers certainly, were fond of ease, comfort and luxury on a scale unknown before.They developed some great vices like drinking debauchery etc. Akbar's two sons died of excessive drinking and mighty ruler could not do anythindg to save them from this terrible vice. Drinking, gabling debauchery etc were some of the glaring evils of the glittering society. But despite these drawbacks or the short coming of the ruler's they were certainly not that in capable or incompetent and could take their decesions quite authoritatively. They were far sighted people, were been to have friendly relations with the Europeans and allowed them some trade concession and permission to built factories in India.

It may be noted that Akbar, the great mughal ruler stands preminently head and soulders above his predecessors, contemporaries and successors. Barring a few

acts of omission and commission he was the greatest ruler of mughal India and it is quite amazing to watch how he converted the scattering edifice of the Delhi sultanante to a mightly mughal empire by his multisided genius and an administrative outlook.

Akbar was an outstanding administrator and architect of the empire. Stories of Akbar's wealthy status and sound economy of Hindustan under his towering stewardship caught the fancy of the European traders and lured them to make forays into the wide trade potential that existed in India. Under Akbar every possible encouragement was given to trade. His successors also continued his policy. In textiles alone it clothed practically all the country whose shores were washed by Indian Ocean.

Agricultural economy was the main source of income. The agricultural economy reflected both rural and urban aspects of life. Craft production become a specialized on one hand these were related to agricultural economy on the other hand these wer a part of economy of towns. The producer used to participate in both barter system and monetary system. Artisans took their articles outside village markets. Farmers also processed their produce for personal use as well as markets. Cotton, Jute, Indigo, Sugar and Silk threads were the main products. Besides, these chemical mining and smelting forging and other domestic articles were made by guilds. In the multilayered inter village system there as inter dependence between farmer's and guilds. These were several other articles like leathers goods and candied fruit which found a ready market in other countries.

Shipbuilding continued to be a thriving industry throughout the muslim period. Akbar concluded a treaty with portguese envoy from Goa which assured safety

of pilgrims to Mecca. Akbar realized it fully that he could not meet the power of Portguese without building up a strong navy and this being rather difficult, he prefrerred an amicable settlement.

Akbar possessed a high sense of responsibility so much depended upon his character that the government would have been collapsed if he had faltered or shown laxity. He had to be constantly vigilant to ensure compliance of their orders. They spend a good deal of time in listening to the reports from far flung parts of their empire and took pairs to maintain their news service and intelligence in proper gear.

The mughals knew it well that their power could be sustained only through the gratitude of their subjects and they were deeply conscious that destiny had vested them with power and authority so that they could look after those who had been placed under him. The emperors were sustained by such thoughts in the discharge of their onerous duties.

The year 1561 appears to make a watershed in the evolution of the jagir system because this was when a few significant and far reaching changes were introduced. In fact, these changes were the forerunners of the measures introduced by Akbar in 1574-75. The first of these changes, brought about in 1561, concerned the manner in which the jagirs were assigned from this time on, as a policy, the jagirs of the great nobles came to be assigned in fragments scattered over a number paraganas located at considerable distances from each other. Synchoronized with this changes was the beginning of a new concept of assignment, which could be regarded as pre- sanctioned income, determined in accordance with the status and obligations of the assignee.

A consequence of the process of fragmentation of jagirs was that it separated the jagirs from administrative jurisdiction, which, in turn, slowed down the regional concentration of the jagirs of the nobles. Nevertheless, there was also a definite policy of not allowing the clans to remain concentration in particular regions.

Summing up, therefore, it may be said that the arrangement of jagirs during the first twenty years of Akbar's reign was an evolving process and the emerging system was a different kind of arrangement from the military-cum-revenue assignments of Babar. It is also in order to suggest that the origion of the Mughal assignment system lay in the administrative policy of the Sur dynasty, thiugh the finding so far in this regard are not quite conclusive.

According to Abul Fazl, the division of the Mughal Empire at the time of Humayun's death into a number of military zones under the charge of senior nobles was as per a scheme thought of by Humayun in 1555, sometime before his demise. Professor Nural Hassan called it a plan for the decentralization of authority by delegating powers to the nobles administering the military zones. However, the assignments sanctioned during the first four years of Akbar's reign seem to indicate that the military command which Humayun passed on to him was superimposed on as revenue system under the close control of the central government.

The system in use after 1575 was conditioned by a new method of revenue assessment and collection as also by the introduction of an extensive military hierarchy and its obligations.

Theoretically, the emperor was the sole claimant of the land revenue and other taxes. However, by using a system of temporary alienations of the claim in specific areas, the jagirs, a small ruling elite was permitted to share the revenue among themselves. The ruling elite consisted of persons who were granted mansabs or ranks by the emperor. The mansabs were numerically expressed ranks which entitled the holder or a mansabdar to a particular amount of pay or talab. Normally, this could be given in cash from the exchequer of the state, but more often it was the practice to assign an area which was officially estimated to yield an equivalent among of revenue.

In order to ensure exactness in assigning jagirs, the standing estimates of the average annual income from revenue, known as jamas or jamadanis were prepared for every administrative divisions right down to the villages. Khalisa or the land not assigned in jagirs was the main source of income of the king's treasury and the king's officers were responsible for its collection.

The size of the khalisa was not constant. Under Akbar, it amounted to 25 percent of the total jama in at least three of the provinces during the later years of his reign.

Akbar had been conscious of the existence of these malpractices for some time when he decided to impose further measures to eradicate the abused in the nineteenth year of his reign. The first of these was the establishment of the mansabdari system, which fixed the pattern for the higher officers. It gave them a well defined rank and laid down well-understood obligations. Besides ,Akbar ordered that the descriptive rolls of the troopers should registered to prevent fraud ; similarly the horses brought by the troopers should be branded to prevent their

transfer to other troopers still awaiting registration. These measures were opposed by some of the officers, specially by Akbar's foster brother, Mirza, Aziz Kokah. Akbar panished the Mirza by depriving him of his mansab for sometime and putting him under house arrest. Other officials as well who had opposed the reform were left in no doubt of imperial displeasure; they were forbidden attendance at the court for sometime and were transferred to Bengal. Thus by showing determination and strength, the emperor succeeded in enforcing these important measures.

It is obvious that Akbar not only demonstration in this way that he could not be thwarted in important matters, but also broke the power of the nobles by making them entirely dependent upon the throne. So long as the emperors were able to enforce these measures, the servants of the empire were not able to defy mandates. This reform had also its counterpart in the field of revenue administration, because the system could not be expected to work satisfactorily unless the real income from the assignments givn in lieu of cash payments for the salaries of the mansabdars and their soldiers was correctly defined. For this purpose all assignments were temporarily taken over by the state and salaries were paid in cash.

During Akbar reign three important battle i.e. battle of Panipat II 1556 A.D., Battle of Tukaroi 1575 AD; and battle of Haldighati 1576 AD were fought. In the history of India second battle of Panipat was an event of far reaching significance as it put to an end all pretensions of Afghans to the sovereigntyof Hindustan and prepared the ground for the mergence of the great mughal empire of India.

The manner in which Akbar solved his problem and achieved success in his object is a proof of his genius for central organization and extraordinary capacity for laborious attention to detail. In his organization he departed entirely from the

tradition of muslim jurists and example of other Islamic Kingdoms, including the Delhi Sultanate. He did away entirely with the principal of one all powerful Wazir and divided his powers and functions of four ministers of nearly equal power rank and status. The position which he gave to his Vakil, the power's which he placed in the hands of his chief diwan, show the originality of his mind;the checks and balances he created in the distribution of work among the Mir Bakshi and Mir Saman and routine he established in the administrative machinery which brought all the four minister's including theSadar in direct contact with each other, were execlusively the result of his mastery in detail.

The structure established by Akbar and the spirit which guided its internal woking aere layally maintained by his immediate succerors and its every branch received fresh vigour under Shahjahan. The merit of the system are the best judged by the measre of success achieved by it in the attainment of the object for which it has been established and judged by his standard there can be no better proof of the soundness of Akbar's system and efficiency of its internal working than that during the period of ninety seven years (1560-1657): only one minister Shah Mansur was charged with high treason under Akbar and king met him not on a battle field but in a regular court of justice which condemned to death. He was silently condemned to death. He was silently executed, the charge remained a mystery and the king was filled with grief at his minister's fate. The officer's from the lowest rank of clerkship rose to the highest office of a minister by virtue of their capacity and loyality without any influence or recommendation and without any distinction of class, caste or creed. Mazzaffar, Shah Mansur, Rai Patar Das and Asaf Khan Qazavini started in very low grades under Akbar.

From clerk to minister of department under reign of Akbar everyone knew his duties, his position and his daily routine. The clerk could say to the minister and the minister to the king that the rule was such and such in a particular matter. The phrase

at tip of every tongue was ‘Zabastainast’. The cases of Rai Subha Chand an office superintendent stopping the Chief Diwan from exceeding his power’s of Sadhula Khan using the term ‘Zabita Nist’ before the king the case of most powerful Prince Dara Shikoh have been noticed. Akbar established the tradition and his immediate successors not only respected it but gave the rules and regulations set by him the sanctity of law.

It is remarkable to mention here that Akbar started with the definite idea of remedying the two conspicuous defects of the system of Delhi Sultans,

- The difference in status between muslim and non-muslim subjects.
- The lack of scope for direct contact between the king and the people.

The first led to complete toleration and eradiction of the idea of a muslim kingdom. His institutions carried into practice his idea about toleration, and his personal policy directed against the muslim the ologians had the second aim in view. Not only did he not want the idea to be reflected in the institutions, but he did not even like this impression of a muslim state to exist in relation to the king or in any group within the state. The record of his reign in full of this struggle in which he finally triumphed. His kingdom was a kingdom for all religion and for all races. Merit and loyality were the best for every rise and distinction.

Akbar organized the country in provinces instead of parcelling it out into military fiefs, and thus established uniform systems and institutions through out the country under the direct control of central administration of the capital. This guaranteed internal security against the oppression of the strong over the weak, and the principle of Abul Fazl that the ‘hearts’ of just rulers are in iron fortress and celestal armour for the lover of peace, and ‘life slaying sword and heart rendering dagger for the wicked was emphasized by Akbar and his two successors both in words and deeds.

The opening of darbar to the lowest of their subjects, the centralization of all powers, all appointments all patronage in the hands of the monarch, the organization of tours to different parts of the empire thus making the same access and the same benefits of personal attention possible to the people of the different parts of the empire- the interest shown in the ancient traditionof the people of the different parts of the empire- the interest shown in the ancient traditions of the people and the respect of their customs, and the celebration of their celebration of Dushehra, Diwali and Rakshabandhan as state functions like those of Muslim Ids, all these were means directed towards the same end. The country employed peace and prosperity, and the dynasty a security which had been not enjoyed by any dynast in India for centuries before. These points need no elucidation.

I am fully convinced with Dr.R.P. Tripathi view who his ornamentally summarized all the qualities of Akbar and offered a fair estimate in the following words:

"As a ruler of men, he was benevolentand enlighted. Since he believed royality as a greater responsibility entrusted by God he –considered every act as a sort of dedicatin and sacred offering. Consequently, he was very thoughtful and cautious in handling the business of the State. He somehow found time to look into almost every detail of administration and thus exerizwd a close control over it. When circumstances required, he showed extraordinary capacity for work and endurance, quick decision and dynamic action. He did not set his hand to any task without deep deleberations and methodical preparations.

Once he took a decision, he would carry it out with unflinching determination and tenacity, irrespective of time and pains it might involve. He was taciturn but when he spoke, he was brief, Thoughtful and clear. In his deportment and manners, he was distinguished and dignified. His personality was impressive and imposing. He did not like the company of low and vulgar people and mere flatterers. He chose

his companions wisely from among distinguished, able and worthy persons. In council or in the field of battle he proved himself master of the situation. As a general and soldier, as a statesman, organizer and administrator, he surpassed all his contemporaries.

He was not keen to go to war without exploring all avenues of peace in consonance with his ideals and ideas. When persuasions and reasonableness failed, he unsheathed his words and usually achieved his specific objective. In the theory, he was a despotic, but in practice, modest, sympathetic, reasonable, accommodating and kind. His interest was not confined to the collection of revenue, maintainence of peace and extension of the sphere of his power and influence. He was equally intersed in social reforms and the removal of mendicancy and poverty.

Finally I came to the conclusion that Akbar fully realized the absence of national spirit and tried to built one. He had the credit of establishing welfae state. He was confident that a wealthy state can exist only among a prosperous people. A poor people could not have sustained the most splendorous empire of the age . Prosperity and security cannot exist without good governance and enlightened politice. It was the splendid administration which sussedded him in establishing solid base in dynamics of civil administration.

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